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ABSTRACT

The module is the second in a series which examines American history in light of industrial development and expansion. Presented in field test condition to allow for feedback from students and teachers, the booklet explores organization of the labor force through presentation of 10 class exercises. The first section presents a background discussion of labor force history to provide teachers with historical information. Following this background discussion is a series of classroom exercises designed to help students develop concepts and understandings related to organized labor. Topics include strikes, the eight-hour day, the five-day week, the Knights of Labor, child labor, labor-management relations, factory life, business enterprises, the future of organized labor, and American attitudes towards union control of government. Learning activities include article and illustration analysis, debate, class discussion, folk singing, social theory criticism, hypothesis formulation, role playing, and economic analysis. The format of the exercises generally includes objectives, materials, strategy, and evaluation. Sample teacher questions, background information, illustrations, newspaper clippings and folk songs are included where relevant. An evaluation form for teachers, resource materials, poems, illustrations, articles, interviews, and copies of letters pro and con labor are provided. (Author/DB)

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MATERIALS FOR USING
AMERICAN ISSUES FORUM
IN THE AMERICAN HISTORY CLASSROOM

TOPIC V: WORKING IN AMERICA

Developed with a grant from
THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

Part II

The University of The State of New York
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
Bureau of General Education Curriculum Development
Albany, New York 12234
1976

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FOREWORD

The modules for *Working In America* included in this publication have been produced in consonance with the program of the American Issues Forum under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The classroom strategies are intended to provide suggestions for examining American history in the light of the issues identified by the national committee which proposed the American Issues Forum. In view of the topical nature of the 11th grade social studies program, this can be done without seriously disrupting most teaching programs.

The materials are in fieldtest condition, so that classes and teachers may provide input concerning learning experiences which prove to be most useful. Some assessment of each strategy used by some or all of the students, and suggestions of modifications or substitutions will help the Department produce a final set of strategies which will carry the themes of the American Issues Forum into the future, as we look beyond the Bicentennial Year.

Teachers will find that the teaching strategies relate most closely to understandings concerning industrial development and expansion in Topic III, American Economic Life, in the syllabus for Social Studies 11, *American History*.

This publication contains a much greater emphasis upon teacher background, since labor history has so often been treated in rather cursory fashion in many courses in American history. Teachers are reminded that the choice of suggested pictures, reading passages and classroom strategies, as well as any adaptations of the background discussions are to be made by them in terms of appropriateness for the student or students who will use them.

The Evaluation Form, appears on page iv.

A number of the exercises used in *Working In America* are drawn from The Age of Employment, copyright 1975 by Kenneth L. Gagala and Donald R. Hetzner. "Early Labor Imports," "Treatment of Laborers and Indentured Servants in Early America," "Working Conditions in Textile Mills," "Upward Mobility—The Horatio Alger Idea," "Andrew Carnegie: The Two Sides of the Man," "The Worker's View of the World of Work," "Attitudes Toward Work Over Time," "The Railroad Strike of 1877," "The Eight Hour Day and Five Day Week," "The Knights of Labor," "Child Labor," "A National Labor Relations Law," "The Airplane Factory," "Business Enterprise Role Playing Situation," "Two Views on the Future of Organized Labor," "Americans Against Union Control of Government," and parts of other sections are reprinted by the Bureau of General Education Curriculum Development with the permission of the authors. Other exercises and commentary are original and designed for *Working In America* and are printed with permission of the authors. Donald H. Bragaw, Chief, Bureau of Social Studies Education, is coordinating the project. The manuscript was prepared for publication by Janet M. Gilbert, Associate in Curriculum Development.

EVALUATION FORM FOR
WORKING IN AMERICA

Please return this form to the Bureau of General Education Curriculum Development, The State Education Department, Albany, New York 12234.

1. Classroom strategies used (list by pages)

2. How many students were involved in using this material?

3. Were the reading passages/statistical materials/graphics within the comprehension level of most of the students using them? (list by pages and indicate how satisfactory each was, if a single answer does not apply)

4. Were the suggested questions, and/or the learning strategies interesting and helpful to students in reaching the understandings or developing the desired concepts? (list by pages and indicate how satisfactory each was, if a single answer does not apply)

5. Please suggest substitutions of readings/statistics/graphics which you think would be more appropriate.

6. Please suggest modifications of the learning strategies to make them more effective for more students.

Send descriptions of learning strategies, with references to reading passages, etc., which you have found effective in teaching these same understandings or concepts.

Your signature and school identification is optional; we'd like to give you credit if we use any of your ideas!

ORGANIZATION OF THE LABOR FORCE

Teacher Background

"Labor unions are the worst thing that ever struck the earth because they take away a man's independence." Booklet distributed to Ford workers, 1936.

"Some day men will work together in a grand scheme. But until that day the trade union must stand as the only safeguard of the working man: the only instrument by which he can maintain himself and his family." — Clarence Darrow.

A response to employment problems is the formation of labor unions. Labor unions are associations of workers organized to engage in collective bargaining with employer over wages, hours, and other employment conditions. Collective bargaining is a method of determining conditions of employment by negotiations between employer and union representatives. Slaves, servants, and self-employed farmers do not form labor unions nor engage in collective bargaining. Employees do.

New York City printers formed a union in 1794, one of the first in the country. By 1818, shoemakers, carpenters, cabinetmakers, bricklayers, coopers, and tailors had also established unions in New York. But unions had a difficult time functioning in this early period. In 1810, a New York court ruled that unions were illegal, because higher wages would mean higher prices for the public to pay. It was not until 1842, that the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled that unions were not illegal. But strikes and other means for obtaining demands remained unlawful. This was a landmark decision followed in other states.

Conflicts between employers and employees became even greater with the birth of the factory system. Labor unions did not grow at a comparable pace to the factory system. Employer resistance and governmental restrictions kept unions out of most of the new industries. It was not until the 20th century that labor unions gained the level of worker representation we know today.

While employees are confronted with many problems due to specialization and large scale production, the position of the employer is not without its difficulties. Labor and management also face common obstacles and in many respects are dependent upon one another.

In the United States, the businesses which produce most of the goods and services are owned by private individuals, whether it be the corner grocery store by Ma and Pa Brown or a giant corporation like A.T. and T. with three million stockholders or owners.

People start businesses by saving their money or borrowing money from others to purchase the machinery, buildings, advertising, and raw materials and to hire the labor needed to produce and sell particular goods or services.

Money is borrowed by selling bonds or receiving loans from banks. The selling of shares in a corporation is another way of raising money. People who own stocks are in effect owners of corporations.

In our economic system, the primary objective of business is to make profits. Profit is the income from sales of the products that is left after all of the businesses' costs are met. In 1970, American businesses made an average of about 6 and 1/2¢ of profit on each dollar of product sold.

Profits are the property of the owners of a business. Stockholders receive their share of corporation's profits in the form of dividends.

People who invest their money in businesses have no guarantee of profits and run the risk of losing part or all of their investment. If people were not willing to invest money on this basis, there would be no way of bringing together the resources needed for production of goods and services.

Starting a business is a risky venture. The products of Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors automobile companies are seen on the road daily, while the Reo, Maxwell, Stutz Bearcat, Pierce-Arrow, Auburn, Cord, Packard, and Studebaker are viewed at antique auto shows.

The United States has what is called a market economy. The way the market economy operates can be shown by examining what happened when a product like the television was first introduced. Consumers were eager to buy television sets and retailers could see that profits would be made by ordering more TV sets from manufacturers. In return, manufacturers realized that profits would be made by producing more TV sets. They began to buy more machinery and hire more labor. People with money to invest responded to the increased profits in the TV manufacturing industry by lending money for investment in plant equipment. With higher profits the companies could afford to pay higher wages to labor.

Businesses can make profits only by producing goods and services that people want to buy. If there are no consumers who are willing and able to pay for the product offered, the business is in trouble. In the final analysis, it is the consumer who is willing and able to buy who directs what is to be produced.

If a business prospers, the workers employed by that business will probably share in its good fortune. If a business fails to sell its product, its employees will also suffer.

The Civil War changed the course of American history in many ways. The black slaves were freed. The economy of the South was virtually destroyed. In the North by contrast, existing factories expanded and new industries were started in order to meet the needs of the war effort.

The Emancipation Proclamation with its promise of freedom was short-lived. By the 1880s, the former members of the Confederacy had passed laws restricting the black's right to employment, housing, education, and public accommodations. Restrictions were generally less formal in the

North but existant nonetheless. A period of stagnation ensued, which was not reversed until the mid-20th century.

President Abraham Lincoln's dream of a reconstructed South did not occur. The South remained impoverished and economically behind the rest of the nation until the mid-20th century.

The spurt of industrialization in the North during the war did not stop. A period of phenomenal economic growth followed. By 1900, the United States made the transformation from an agricultural nation, with most of its people living in rural areas, to an industrial nation, with the majority of the population residing in cities. The total population of the country tripled during the period from 1850 to 1900. The value of manufactured goods increased by 3,000 percent during the same period.

The industrial boom of the last half of the 19th century spawned men of great wealth and power. Andrew Carnegie was typical of the new class of industrial capitalists. His parents were poor textile workers in Scotland who emigrated to America with their young son. Andrew went to work at the age of 13. At the age of 25 he was earning $125 per month and saving most of his money. He used his savings to invest in small companies. During the industrial boom of the Civil War, his investments paid off. By the end of the war, at the age of 32, he was a millionaire and started a steel company in Pittsburgh. In 1901, he sold his company for $492 million. The company was renamed "United States Steel."

Carnegie, like many other industrial capitalists of the era, was a complex individual. During his lifetime, he gave most of his money away to charity. The Carnegie Foundation, which he endowed upon his death, continues to be a leading contributor to innovation and advancement in the field of education. In his later years, Carnegie became somewhat of an evangelist. He wrote and lectured about the system which allowed a person of humble beginnings to rise to a position of wealth and power, and the obligations of those who succeeded to assist society in solving its problems.

The social, political, and economic system of which Carnegie wrote so fondly has been called "Social Darwinism." Its governing principle is "survival of the fittest." Society is viewed as little more than a jungle where the strong survive and the weak languish. The role of government is minimal. It helps neither the weak nor the strong, but merely enforces certain rules of the game which prohibit violence and coercion.

In reality, the system didn't always work that way. Government was often on the side of the powerful. Railroad tycoons like Cornelius Vanderbilt and Leland Stanford, who in the mold of Carnegie richly endowed educational institutions which bear their names, received millions of acres of free land from the government. Carnegie could use Pittsburgh's air and water as if they were his own. Smoke and sewage from his factories were discharged into the environment.

Where the law prohibited an action, it was often corrupted. Cornelius Vanderbilt, who made $94 million in 10 years, boasted: "What do I care about the law? Don't I have the power?" Judges, juries, legislators, and government executives were often bought off.

The weak in this societal jungle were the millions of workers who manned the railroads, mines, and factories. Except for some highly skilled workers, wages were low and working conditions were poor. A primary reason was the tremendous increase in immigration after the Civil War. Employers generally adopted a "take it or leave it" attitude toward labor. Meaning—"If you don't like it here, go ahead and quit. We can get someone else, probably a recent immigrant, to take your place. But keep in mind that you will probably receive the same wages and working conditions from other employers. So, take it or leave it."

This era of paradoxes is aptly illustrated by the cartoon in which Andrew Carnegie is portrayed as being inhumane to his employees on the one hand and a benefactor of society on the other.

Carnegie's attitude toward his own workers lacked the generosity he displayed toward society. Steelworkers had to work a 12-hour day, seven days a week. The safety conditions in the mills were so poor that in 1891, 300 men were killed and 2,000 injured.

At his plant in Homestead, Pennsylvania, Carnegie employed 3,800 workers to produce boiler plates, beams, and structural steel. Wages ranged from 14 cents per hour for common labor, to $260 a month for skilled workmen. In the spring of 1892, the company announced a wage cut ranging from 18 to 26 percent. All 3,800 workers voted to strike. The company prepared for the strike by building a 12-foot fence around the plant, topped by barbed wire.

The company tried to break the strike by sending in private policemen. They filled two barges which attempted to enter the plant by going down the Monongahela River. Strikers lined the banks and shot at the private police who finally surrendered. Nine strikers and 7 police were killed. Twenty police and 40 strikers were wounded.

The Governor of Pennsylvania sent in the militia to break the strike. Twenty-seven strike leaders were indicted for treason against the state. The strike was lost and wages cut.

Efforts to form unions were more often frustrated than successful during this era. The law allowed employers to retard union organization in many ways, and what the law didn't allow often made little difference. Blacklists of known union organizers were circulated among employers. Spies and private detectives were used to break strikes and deter union organization. Employers often forced workers to sign agreements that they would not join a union. The agreements were called "Yellow Dog Contracts" and were enforceable in the courts.

The Iron Molder's Union was the strongest union to emerge after the Civil War. Through strikes and bargaining with employers, the union was able to win many of its demands, but employer resistance was strong.

In March 1866, foundry owners in Albany and Troy, New York, announced that they would no longer bargain with the union. The union retaliated, not by striking, but by raising money and starting its own foundry. Businesses owned by the workers are called cooperatives. To many workers

during the 19th century, cooperatives appeared to be the only way to cope with industrialization. Many cooperatives were formed but few survived, primarily because they lacked the money to withstand depression periods.

Depressions have been a recurring problem for both labor and management. Depressions are periods of time when the sales of goods and services by virtually all businesses in the country decline drastically. Naturally, profits are greatly reduced and losses may even occur. Some businesses may go bankrupt. Because of bad business conditions, unemployment reaches high levels.

The reasons for depressions are quite complex. They can result from a lack of confidence about the future. When people anticipate a bad time in the future, their natural reaction is to safeguard against the rainy day. People anticipating financial problems in the future will attempt to save by reducing their expenditures for goods and services. A worker who believes that there is a strong likelihood that he will lose his job in the near future will probably make do with last year's winter coat and have his car repaired rather than trading it in on a new one. A businessman who anticipates a leveling off or, worse yet, a reduction in sales, will probably put off plans to expand the productive capacity of his plant and may reduce the volume of his inventories by cutting production. If reductions in expenditures are widespread, a depression will occur.

If the rate of interest on loans increases, consumers and businessmen will generally reduce their expenditures on high-priced goods like houses, cars, and factories, because of the higher cost of repaying the loans. If widespread, a depression can occur. The list of potential causes is long.

Today, we rely upon the government to maintain economic stability. One way that the government stabilizes the economy is by increasing its spending when that of consumers and businesses declines. Since the 1940's, periods of high unemployment have been less frequent. But prior to that time, the level of economic activity fluctuated widely. Many a labor union movement died during depressions as the "take it or leave it" posture of employers held even more serious consequences.

However, labor resisted as in the Railroad Strike of 1877. In July, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad announced a 10 percent wage cut. The company refused even to discuss the matter with its employees. The workers were angry and walked off their jobs. The strike spread to other railroads and eventually the entire country. Thousand of employed and unemployed workers from other industries sympathized with the railroad workers and joined them. Twenty thousand federal troops and thousands of state militiamen were mobilized. Hundreds were killed and millions of dollars of property were destroyed. In the end, the strike was crushed and the wage cut stood.

After the depression of 1873 to 1878, the Knights of Labor emerged as the most prominent union in the country. Organized in 1869, it welcomed all workers except bankers, lawyers, bartenders, and gamblers. The leader of the Knights was Terrence Powderly. He believed that strikes

were self-defeating. He proposed that workers set aside the wages they would lose through strikes and form cooperatives so that workers could be their own bosses.

In 1883, the Knights of Labor had 52,000 members. By 1886, it grew to 700,000 members. Ironically, much of this growth was due to a strike victory in 1885 against the Wabash Railroad.

Despite this victory, Powderly refused to authorize other strikes. On May 1, 1886, a national strike for the 8-hour day occurred. Powderly refused to allow the Knights to participate. Dissension within the union became widespread and membership declined. By 1888, membership was down to 200,000 members and eventually disbanded completely.

The national strike for the 8-hour day in 1886 involved an estimated 350,000 workers. The strike was marred by one of the darkest chapters in American history—the Haymarket Riot. On May 3, 1886, a rally was held in front of the McCormick Reaper factory in Chicago's Haymarket Square by 3,000 striking workers. Police were observing the proceedings. Suddenly someone in the crowd threw a bomb at the police. The police responded by firing into the crowd. One policeman and 4 strikers were killed. The person who threw the bomb remains unknown to this day.

The organizers of the rally were arrested and brought to trial for inciting a riot. All eight were convicted. Four were executed and the rest sentenced to life imprisonment. A few years later, the Governor of Illinois, John Altgeld, pardoned the imprisoned on the grounds that they were not convicted by factual evidence but the hysteria of the time. It is ironic that May 1 became a worker's holiday throughout much of the world in the 19th century with the exception of the country where the events which it commemorates occurred.

The national strike and the riot had a devastating effect upon organized labor. Employers closed ranks against what they viewed as a worker's revolution and embarked with governmental assistance on a union busting campaign. Despite these tactics, a few unions survived—in particular the Railroad Brotherhoods.

It is within this atmosphere of extreme resistance that the country's first successful organized labor movement was launched. The policies formulated during this period were designed to cope with the situation. Many of these policies are still in effect today.

Samuel Gompers was born in London, England in 1850. He came to the United States at the age of 13 and began working in a New York City cigar factory. He was an active union member. At the age of 36, he became the president of the American Federation of Labor. He held the post, except for one year, until he died at the age of 84 in 1924.

It is perhaps not too surpising that the founder of a labor movement should emerge from the cigar making trade. In those days, cigars were made almost entirely by hand. Workers sat around large tables in poorly lit and ventilated rooms. Labor was paid on a piece work basis, receiving

a fraction of a cent for each cigar produced. Because of the absence of machinery, a cigar factory was a relatively quiet place. In order to make their days more interesting, the workers would choose one of their fellows to be a reader. The workers would each contribute some of the cigars they produced to the reader for his support. It is within this unique environment that Samuel Gompers read and discussed various means for labor to cope with the age of employment.

Gompers believed that the course of action followed by the Knights of Labor was bound to fail. The American Federation of Labor headed in a new direction, which is called "pure and simple unionism." The primary concern of the union was wages, hours, and working conditions. The union did not intend to deal with the age of employment by eliminating the employer class as the Knights of Labor did through the formation of cooperatives, or by having the government take over the operation of industry as the socialists and communists advocated. Rather than attempting to radically change the existing order, the A.F. of L. accepted and worked within the system. As Gompers viewed the situation, in this way the union does not confront the power of a political and economic system dominated by employer interests and capable of crushing any faction which challenges that control.

In the area of politics, Gompers advocated a policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies." The A.F. of L. did not attempt to form a political party, as European unions did, nor did it attempt to dominate a political party. The A.F. of L. endorsed candidates of any political party who supported policies which the A.F. of L. believed to be in its best interests.

Gompers reasoned that one of the reasons that the Knights of Labor failed was that most of the power was in the hands of one man. The American Federation of Labor was just that—a federation. Its members were not individual workers but national unions like the Plumbers, Typographers, and Teamsters.

With the A.F. of L., each national union conducted its own affairs without interference from the federation. Unlike the Knights of Labor, the A.F. of L. had nothing to do with the financial affairs of the national unions, except for collecting a small amount of dues each month from the members. A member union could withdraw from the A.F. of L. at any time.

The function of the A.F. of L. was to assist the national unions by lobbying in state and national governments for legislation favorable to labor and by attempting to create favorable public opinion of organized labor. The A.F. of L. constituted a focal point behind which the power of labor was organized in the political arena.

Gompers realized that a major reason why the Knights were unsuccessful was their attempt to organize all workers regardless of their skills. Unskilled labor is abundant, particularly during depressions. Unskilled workers who strike can often be easily replaced by employers. The A.F. of L. concentrated on organizing skilled workers like carpenters, plumbers, typesetters, and tailors, who were not so easily replaced. By 1913, the A.F. of L. had 2 million members. But only 10 percent of the labor force belonged to the A.F. of L.

The task of organizing unskilled labor was left to others and was not widely successful until nearly 50 years after the A.F. of L. was launched.

An attempt to organize the unskilled workers was made by the Industrial Workers of the World, which was organized in 1905. The preamble of the IWW constitution reads in part: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common."

The Wobblies, as they came to be called, attempted to organize all workers regardless of skill, sex, race, ethnicity, or religion. The ultimate goal of the Wobblies was syndicalism, whereby the owners and managers of all existing businesses would be discharged, and the workers would own and operate industry. Syndicalism was different than the cooperative movement of the Knights of Labor, which did not call for taking control of existing industry away from employers. The Wobblies distrusted government control. Businesses were to be governed by worker's councils, democratically chosen by the workers at every business location.

The Wobblies opposed U.S. involvement in World War I. In 1917, more than 100 IWW leaders were arrested for violating the War Espionage Act. Some fled the country, others served long prison terms. The IWW did not survive this assault, although a small organization still exists.

During the 19th century, organized labor generally increased membership during prosperous economic periods and suffered membership losses during depressions. The precedent was reversed during the 1920's. "The Golden Twenties" or "The Jazz Age" was a prosperous period, but the influence of organized labor waned.

Between 1920 and 1923, union membership declined from 5 million to 3 1/2 million and remained at about that level throughout this decade of unprecedented prosperity. Organized labor's declining fortunes are attributable to many factors. Wealth and power became even more concentrated in the hands of the few. The country's 200 largest corporations controlled half of its wealth. Two percent of the nation's families owned an estimated 85 percent of all the country's corporate stock. Employers banded together into associations. They poured vast sums of money into political campaigns, traded information on union organizing campaigns, and lobbied for government policies preventing union organizations.

Another tactic was the formation of company unions, which were financed and controlled by the employers. Workers had no bargaining rights, and the company unions were "unions" in name only.

Moreover, labor unions came under the heavy scrutiny of the courts. Injunctions prohibiting union strike and picketing activities were issued upon the request of employers on the grounds that business would suffer. Workers were forced to sign "Yellow-Dog contracts" which stated that the worker was not a member of a union and promised not to join a union so long as he worked for the company.

After a bitter defeat in the 1919 Steel Strike, the A.F. of L. was reluctant to take on the powerful mass production industries and concentrated even more on organizing skilled workers, who generally worked for small companies in the construction, printing, and clothing industries.

When Samuel Gompers died in 1924 at the age of 84, he was succeeded by William Green. Green was not interested in attempting to undertake the financial cost and political risk of organizing the mass production industries.

In October of 1929, "The Jazz Age" came to an abrupt end. Due primarily to a number of unsound financial practices, the prices of corporate stocks plummeted downward. Fortunes were lost overnight. Business and consumer confidence was badly shaken, and the country entered one of its most trying periods. By 1932, the government estimated the unemployment rate to be 25 percent. Because of some difficulties in the way those statistics were compiled, the rate was probably more in the neighborhood of 40 percent. Nearly 6,000 banks failed. Millions lost their life savings and their homes. Men were degraded into standing in bread lines for handouts from private charities. Hadn't people been better off when they worked their own small farms than under this system where the ability to make one's livelihood depended upon the actions of an employer? The question was asked by many. But there was little chance of turning back the clock.

The Communists and other political radicals accepted the modern industrial era but challenged the way it was operated. These groups organized mass demonstrations to protest the condition of the country, the most spectacular occurring on December 7, 1931, 10 years to the day before the U.S. entered World War II. An estimated 100,000 unemployed from around the country marched on Washington, D.C., demanding a remedy to their plight.

Violence erupted as workers sought union recognition. In July, 1934, a half million textile workers went out on strike. Over 10,000 state militiamen were mobilized. After many confrontations, the strike was broken.

At the Auto Lite sparkplug plant in Toledo, Ohio, a worker, who had been fired for union activity, began to picket the plant all by himself. This was a new twist. In the past, the unemployed were used as strike-breakers. Now they were aligned with the employed against employers. A judge issues an injunction prohibiting more than 25 pickets in front of the plant. The next day 1,000 pickets showed up: 4,000 the day after, and 6,000 the third day after the injunction. The police and National Guard were called in. A melee erupted. Fortunately, no one was killed but hundreds were injured.

Before a U.S. Senate Committee investigating industrial conflicts, a witness testified to his belief that American industry spent an estimated $80 million for spies to infiltrate and disrupt union organizations. He also asserted that General Motors alone admitted spending $994,000 on spies from January 1934 to July 1936. The witness went on to relate that hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent by the corporations on tear gas, armored cars, and fragmentation bombs.

Industry's battle plan for preventing union organization was the creation of James Rand, Jr. of the Remington Rand Corporation. It was known as the "Mohawk Valley Formula," because it was used by the company in the Mohawk Valley region of New York State. It was widely circulated by employer groups. The plan called for publicizing every strike as a "Communist plot," dominating the local police, advertising in newspapers, using armed vigilantes, and starting a "back to work movement" by so-called loyal employees. The back to work movement consisted of an assault upon picket lines by police and vigilantes using tear gas, clubs, and machine guns. All violence was to be charged to out-of-town agitators and Communists.

In San Francisco on May 9, 1934, 12,000 longshoremen on the West Coast went on strike. By July 15, after two months of fighting between police and strikers, 160 local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and comprising 127,000 workers voted for a general strike within the city, despite orders from William Green prohibiting the strike. For the next 3 days, San Francisco was literally shut down. Factories and stores were empty. Not a street car ran. Five thousand troops were sent, but they could do nothing.

The longshoremen's union won its demands. Harry Bridges, the leader of the general strike, was elected president of the local union. Four times the federal government was to try unsuccessfully to deport him to his native Australia for being a Communist.

To many it appeared as if the country was on the brink of revolution. What could be done?

In 1935, Congress enacted "The National Labor Relations Act." The law is also called the Wagner Act after Senator Robert Wagner of New York, the author of the bill. The law applies only to workers engaged in interstate commerce. State and local government employees and agricultural workers are not covered by this law. Each state has it own laws pertaining to workers not covered by the National Labor Relations Act.

The Wagner Act forbids employers from discharging or otherwise disciplining workers for joining, starting or participating in a union. The law views the right to engage in union activity as a fundamental freedom of citizens. Employers who violate this freedom are subject to make restitution in the form of back pay or other remedial action.

The law established a process for workers to decide whether or not to form a union. In order to start a union, workers sign authorization cards, petitioning for a federal government conducted election. If there is sufficient interest, the government will come in and conduct an election. Workers will have a choice between the union and no union.

If the union wins the election, the employer must, according to the Wagner Act, bargain with it. This does not mean that the employer must give the union everything that it desires, but only that the employer must be willing to discuss the unions's demands. If workers no longer wish to be represented by a union or desire to have another union represent them, they must petition the government for another election.

The Wagner Act created the National Labor Relations Board, appointed by the President and charged with the responsibility of administering the Act. The Board has broad powers. Within a short period after its initiation, it outlawed blacklists, labor spies, and the entire "Mohawk Valley Formula." The injunction and the "Yellow Dog Contract" were outlawed by the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932.

If you are in question in regard to your rights and responsibilities under the Act, contact the local office of the National Labor Relations Board which is listed in the telephone book. The NLRB is there to serve you. Do not hesitate to call. A "Labor Law Handbook" is included in this volume for your assistance.

The passage of a permissive law was not sufficient to increase union organization. It was necessary for labor to take the initiative. Since the mid-19th century workers had tried to form unions in the mass production industries and failed.

In the view of the unions, the obstacles confronting them are depicted in the song—"Talking Union."

TALKING UNION (1941)
by the Almanac Singers
(Talking blues, steady beat)

Removed by ERIC due to copyright law.

("Talking Union" by the Almanac Singers. Copyright by People's Songs Inc. Copyright assigned 1961 to Stormking Music Inc.)

Removed by ERIC due to copyright law.

Unity of workers is the song's message. But before organized labor made a unified effort to organize the mass production industries, it divided.

In Atlantic City, during the 1935 A.F. of L. Convention, two former workers in the coal mining industry, William Green and John L. Lewis, engaged in a bitter fight over the issue of industrial unionism. John L. Lewis was the President of the United Mine Workers union. William Green had been the vice-president of the United Mine Workers Union. When Samuel Gompers died in 1924, John L. Lewis supported Green for the presidency of the American Federation of Labor. Lewis probably thought that if the A.F. of L. was headed by a man who had worked for him, he would be able to control or at least strongly influence the federation. Lewis was wrong.

Green and Lewis disagreed on how the mass production industries should be organized. Green believed that workers should be organized along craft lines. The jurisdiction or right to organize all workers in a particular occupation had been granted to the craft unions when they joined the A.F. of L. An automobile assembly plant, for example, employs people who do electrical, plumbing, machine rigging, textile, sheet metal, painting and glass work. Green believed that the A.F. of L. unions in these crafts should separately organize the workers in these jurisdictions. An auto assembly plant, therefore, would have eight or more unions representing its workers.

Lewis believed that organization along craft lines was unwieldy. He proposed the organization of all workers in a mass production industry into one union—an industrial union.

After two weeks of bitter debate, the delegates at the Atlantic City Convention voted to support Green. Lewis pulled his union out of the federation and formed the Congress of Industrial Organizations. During the next two years, from 1935 to 1937, the C.I.O. grew to 4 million members and surpassed the total membership of the A.F. of L. in 1935.

Despite the existence of the Wagner Act, with its peaceful means for workers to form unions, massive, often violent strikes accompanied this membership gain. The strikes occurred for two reasons: (1) the psychological effect; the C.I.O. Unions sought to generate the enthusiasm of workers, who were used to defeat, by exercising the power to bring employers to terms, and (2) the "limbo period." The constitutionality of the Wagner Act was not tested before the Supreme Court until 1937. There were strong indications that many employers hoped that the law would be overturned.

The C.I.O. developed a new tactic—the sitdown strike. Many times in the past, strikes were broken when strikebreakers, police, militiamen, and hired thugs broke through the picket lines workers formed around the plants. The sitdown strike, gave the workers an advantage. Rather than being targets on the outside of the factories, the workers refused to work and stayed inside the plants around the clock. If the employers wanted to break these illegal strikes, they would incur the risk of severely damaging their property and being unable to operate the factories and other businesses for extended periods of time.

The G.M. complex in Flint encompasses many separate plants and is spread out over a large area. The union felt that it could not possibly hold all the plants and, therefore, chose vital plants which if unable to operate would shut down the whole complex. The union organizing committee, aware that there were spies in their midst, announced that certain plants would be struck. Only two members of the committee knew that this was only a diversionary tactic. As the company rushed its security force to the supposed targets, one of the committeemen brought out an American flag and began marching through a plant the security force ignored. Workers joined the parade and soon the bulk of the workers were committed to the strike and the plant was seized. For the next two weeks, wives and supporters on the outside passed food through windows to the strikers on the inside. The company attempted to shame the strikers and their supporters into returning to work by labeling the strike "un-American," and true to the Mohawk Valley

Formula, attempted to organize a "back-to-work movement." When these efforts failed, the company attempted to freeze and starve the strikers out. On January 11 the heat was cut off and food deliveries stopped. What ensued was called by the strikers, "The Battle of Running Bulls"—the bulls being the police, the running being their tactic of encroaching upon the plant and firing bullets and tear gas into the windows. The workers responded by throwing anything they could lay their hands on at the police—tools, scrap steel, bottles, and bricks. If they did not have the plant as a fortress and had been out in the open, they would have been defenseless against the bullets and tear gas. The battle raged on through the night. The police finally gave up.

General Motors requested the governor of Michigan, Frank Murphy, to send in the National Guard. Often in the past, politicians had acceeded to employer's demands and broke strikes. Something monumental occurred. Murphy refused, reasoning that despite the illegality of the sitdown strike, the public interest would be better served if the certain loss of life and property was averted through a peaceful settlement between the parties. He urged General Motors and the union to meet and reach an agreement. They did and the union was recognized as the bargaining agent for the employees of General Motors.

It was as if a dam had burst. Within the next 9 months, a half million workers engaged in sitdown strikes. Employers were fearful. Many now attempted to reach an accord with the CIO unions in order to avoid costly confrontations. The most notable was the United States Steel Corporation. In March 1937, after 3 months of secret negotiations, the corporate giant agreed to recognize the union as the bargaining agent for its employees. Many other companies in the steel industry soon followed suit.

Republic Steel was one of the companies which resisted the union. On Memorial Day, 1937, the Union held a peaceful rally at Republic Steel Corporation. Without any warning the police fired tear gas into the crowd. As the people ran, the police shot at them killing 10 and wounding 60 others. Among the latter were women and children. The effect of the Memorial Day Massacre was to make the C.I.O. even more resolute in winning the fight for recognition. The massacre became a rallying point at demonstrations around the country. The C.I.O. grew from 8 national unions to 32 with 4 million members by 1937.

Rather than fading from the labor scene, the A.F. of L. began to accept the challenge of organizing the mass production industries and adopted many of the same tactics as the CIO with the result that its membership also grew.

On the political scene, the CIO was much more active than the A.F. of L. The federation committed more money, and volunteer workers, to political campaigns than the A.F. of L. and even entertained the idea of starting a labor party. The influence of Communists and socialists was much greater in the CIO and it tended to favor government controls and social service programs more than did the A.F. of L.

The CIO was not a revolutionary union like the IWW, but it wasn't a pure and simple union like the A.F. of L. The CIO was somewhere between the IWW and the A.F. of L. When the United States entered the Second World War in 1941, the animosities between labor and management had to be buried if the war effort was to succeed. The federal government established the War Labor Board to settle industrial disputes. But industrial peace and the war effort were threatened on occasions by labor walkouts. A 7-day week, 10 hours per day, was common in the steel, airplane, tank, and munitions factories. Spontaneous strikes lasting a few hours or a few days relieved some of the pressure brought on by these conditions.

In 1943, John L. Lewis announced that the Mine Workers Union would renegotiate its contracts with employers. The employers refused and the dispute was referred to the War Labor Board. Lewis then announced that he did not recognize the authority of the board and the union went on strike. The nation was confronted with a potential crisis. If the strike lasted long enough, the war effort would be seriously injured.

President Roosevelt ordered the government to seize the mines. Lewis then announced a 30 day truce. For the next 6 months, the controversy raged. The miners went out on strike three times until finally the dispute was settled by the board. The miners won substantial wage increases and fringe benefits.

Had organized labor become too powerful? Yes, answered the nation's press and radio. Even the most trivial strikes received wide publicity. Lewis was portrayed as the ally of Hitler.* It was easy to transform this image of unpatriotic behavior on the part of Lewis to the entire labor movement, because of his important role in it.

Other practices of some unions received widespread publicity. Some unions engaged in so-called featherbedding practices whereby an employer was required to pay for work which the employer believed to be unnecessary. When railroads were powered by steam locomotives, the job of the railroad fireman was to stoke coal into the boiler. Now that most engines were deisel powered, coal stoking was no longer necessary, but the union negotiated contracts which required employers to retain the firemen. On the docks, longshoremen negotiated contracts, which required that packing cases, which came out of the holds of ships to be unloaded from their pallets and then restacked on the pallets before they could be placed on trucks. The musicians negotiated contracts requiring "standby" musicians when recorded music was played.

Some unions negotiated closed shop agreements with employers. The closed shop requires employers to hire only workers who already belonged to the union. The effect was to prevent the employer from hiring whomever he wants and to give the unions leverage over wages by restricting the number of workers eligible for employment.

Other unions negotiated union shop agreements with employers. The union shop required workers to join the union after being hired by the employer. Failure to join the union resulted in being discharged by the employer.

*Alinsky, S. D. John L. Lewis, An Unauthorized Biography. New York. G.P. Putnam's Sons. 1949. pp. 301-302.
See also, American Labor: A Pictorial Social History by M. B. Schnapper. p. 457.

Unions affiliated with the A.F. of L. and those affiliated with the CIO often competed for the right to represent the same workers. Where a union affiliated with one of the federations already represented the workers, another union would often come along and call a strike to which sympathizers of that union would respond. These so-called jurisdictional strikes imposed a hardship upon employers in a situation for which they were not responsible.

Another tactic of some unions was the so-called secondary boycott. A union which had a dispute with an employer would enlist the aid of another union to bring pressure upon a customer of the employer with whom the dispute existed. The secondary boycott resulted in a penalty for a party which had no responsibility for the dispute.

Supervisory employees, particularly foremen, began to form unions in some industries. Employers questioned whether an individual could effectively manage and at the same time be a union member.

Reputed Communists held positions of leadership in some unions. Should these unions strike, the impact upon the economy would be severe.

At the end of the Second World War, nearly one-third of the American labor force was organized into unions. Through strikes, unions could paralyze the economy. In 1946, the government began to remove the price controls which existed during the war. Prices began to soar. Union wages had not been increased by very much during the war, and unions demanded substantial wage increases to keep up with the rising cost of living. Employers were generally reluctant to meet these demands, because they were uncertain of the future of a peacetime economy, particularly in the wake of the depression of the 1930's. A number of long strikes resulted. The most dramatic being a 113 day strike between General Motors and the United Automobile Workers. To many it appeared that organized labor had overstepped its bounds and become too powerful.

In 1947, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act which amended the Wagner Act. The Taft-Hartley Act was labelled "the slave labor act" by President Harry Truman. The law was passed over his veto. Organized labor lobbied for many years for total repeal of the act, but more recently, its objections have singled out the right to work law aspects of Taft-Hartley. Congress debated the issue of the union shop and reached a compromise. Rather than the federal government prohibiting the union shop, the law authorizes individual states to pass so-called "right to work laws," prohibiting the union shop. Currently, 19 states have such laws, but these are primarily agricultural states where organized labor has never been prevalent. The act outlaws the closed shop.

The secondary boycott was prohibited. Supervisors lost the protection of the Wagner Act. This does not mean that supervisors cannot start unions, but they cannot petition for a government-conducted election. An employer can fire supervisors for union activity and can refuse to bargain with a supervisory union. The Taft-Hartley Act required union officials to take a non-Communist oath.

Unions were forbidden from compelling employers to pay for work which was not performed. However, a problem arose in the courts. Because of difficulty in defining what is and what is not work, the provision has had little impact.

The act impowered the President to issue injunctions against strikes which he believes to be harmful to the national interest. An injunction orders the strikers back to their jobs for a period of 80 days, during which the employer and union continue to negotiate. If an agreement is not reached at the end of 80 days, the injunction cannot be extended, and the union membership must vote on management's last offer. Management's last offer has never been accepted since the passage of the act.

After World War II, the country was gripped in the hysteria of the "Red Menace." The survival of the Bill of Rights was seriously challenged. Guilt by association and accusation became standard. The patriotism of organized labor was already brought into question in 1947 by the Taft-Hartley Act's provision of a non-Communist pledge for union officials. What would the future bring?

The influence of Communists and those who held views similar to those of the Communists was nearly completely absent in unions affiliated with the A.F. of L., but not in the C.I.O. Communists and those in agreement with the positions of Communists had been instrumental in the organization of some C.I.O. affliates, and some held leadership positions. At its 1949 convention, the C.I.O. began its purge of Communist influence. Eventually, 11 national unions representing nearly 1 million workers were expelled from the C.I.O. The C.I.O. chartered unions to compete for the membership of those which were expelled. Today, only 2 of the 11 unions survive.

The reconciliation of the C.I.O. with the A.F. of L. was perhaps inevitable and occurred in 1955. The old issue of craft versus industrial unionism was for all practical purposes dead, because a large proportion of the A.F. of L.'s membership was organized into industrial unions.

The AFL-CIO is a federation of craft and industrial unions. It is not in itself a bargaining agent. Its primary functions are education, lobbying, and aid to member unions in organizing. When a worker joins a union, he joins a local union. If he is a widget maker, he may join Local 5 of the Amalgamated Widget Makers Union. The AWMU has many locals around the country and may even have locals in Canada and Puerto Rico. he AWMU is a member of the AFL-CIO. Some large national unions like the Auto Workers and Teamsters do not belong to the AFL-CIO.

Between 1946 and 1954, membership in the C.I.O. declined from 6.3 million members to 4.6 million, while that of the A.F.L. increased from 7.1 million in 1946 to 10.2 million in 1954. Because of its larger size, the A.F.L. unions would tend to dominate the new federation. A former New York City plumber, George Meany, was elected president of the AFL-CIO. A primary reason for the merger was the belief that a unified labor movement would be better able to influence government action affecting labor. A test of the AFL-CIO's influence was soon to occur.

One of the first problems confronting the new federation was the alleged mishandling of pension funds. Pensions are payments made to workers upon retirement. The amount of a pension to be paid is negotiated between the employer and the union. In order to meet the payments when workers retire, employers set aside a certain amount of money each pay period. The money in the fund is invested in stocks, bonds, real estate, and other profit making assets.

The AFL-CIO attempted to place its own house in order. In 1957, the AFL-CIO expelled the bakers' unions, the laundry workers' union, and the country's largest union, the Teamsters. The AFL-CIO also urged Congress to pass a strict law governing all pension plans and the handling of union finances. In 1959, the Landrum-Griffin Act became law. Again, because of the practices of a minority of unions, the Landrum-Griffin Act contains a "Union Members Bill of Rights." Every union member has a right to nominate candidates, to vote in elections for officers and increases in dues, to exercise free speech, and to examine the financial affairs of his or her union.

The decade of the 1960's was one of turbulence for the country. Organized labor played a prominent role during this period, not as in the 1930's through confrontations with employers, but as an interest group influencing government policy. Organized labor generally regarded the Eisenhower Administration of the 1950's as unfriendly. For the 1960 election campaign it worked hard raising money and ringing doorbells for the Democratic Party's candidate, John F. Kennedy. With a friend in the White House, organized labor felt rather comfortable that restrictive legislation would be prevented.

In the early 1960's, black and white activists launched demonstrations protesting the laws in the South relegating blacks to second-class citizenship. Some trade unionists joined in the demonstrations and some unions gave financial support. Organized labor's greatest impact, however, was in Congress where the AFL-CIO lobbied for the passage of civil rights legislation. But the AFL-CIO refused the proposal of a black caucus led by A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to penalize affiliates which allegedly discriminate as had happened in the past with alleged Communist and corrupt unions.

Another volatile issue of the 1960s was the Vietnam War. The AFL-CIO officially supported the war.

Since the end of the Second World War, the proportion of the labor force belonging to unions has fallen at a rather steady rate from one-third in 1945 to about one-fourth today. The reasons for this include the fact that the service industries were growing substantially at this time. In addition, managerial and administrative jobs were on the rise. Labor unions have traditionally been weak in these areas. Finally, the disclosure of racketeering or bad conduct in a small minority of unions may have given the entire labor movement an unfavorable image in the view of unorganized workers.

The open hostility between unions and employers is declining. Certainly, not all employers accept unions, but the degree of cooperation between labor and management appears to be increasing.

In the steel industry, for example, which has experienced some of the longest strikes in the nation's history, a landmark agreement was reached in 1973. Issues which cannot be satisfactorily settled by the parties will be submitted to a third party whose decision will be binding on both labor and management. A third party whose decision in a dispute is binding on both labor and management is called an arbitrator. George Meany has stated that strikes are almost obsolete and would like to see the establishment of some form of non-binding arbitration as an alternative.

Questions for Discussion

- Will the future bring even greater cooperation between labor and management?
- If it does, will the need for labor unions be eliminated?
- Should organized labor attempt to increase its membership by vigorously attempting to organize workers? Why?
- Should organized labor be merely concerned with wages and working conditions or be a movement which attempts to alter society like the Knights of Labor or Wobblies?
- Should limits exist on the right to strike? If so, what should be the extent of these limitations?
- Some Americans regard work as a necessary evil with wages the only objective. Is unionization in any way responsible, or is the nature of work the reason?

CLASSROOM EXERCISE

THE RAILROAD STRIKE OF 1877

Objectives

- Given two sets of newspaper articles, separated two months in time, the student will hypothesize on what happened during the time break.
- The student will speculate on the spontaneity of the strike and the cause of violence during the strike.
- Given several contemporary newspaper articles, the student will critique media coverage of the Railroad Strike of 1877.
- Drawing on general knowledge of recent history, the student and teacher will identify recent social movements analogous to the Railroad Strike of 1877.

Materials

Statements for the Commercial and Financial Chronicle, New York Times, 1877, New York World, July 22, 1877, the quote of Tom Scott, article from the New York Herald, July 22, 1877 and pictures 1-5 illustrating the Railroad Strike of 1877.

THE RAILROAD WAR

Bloody Work Inaugurated at Baltimore.

SIXTH REGIMENT FIRE ON THE MOB

A NUMBER OF PERSONS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

THE CITY WILD WITH EXCITEMENT

The Torch Applied to the Depot at Camden Station.

BANKED FIRES

The Great Strike Spreading in Various Directions.

GROWING WARM AT BUFFALO

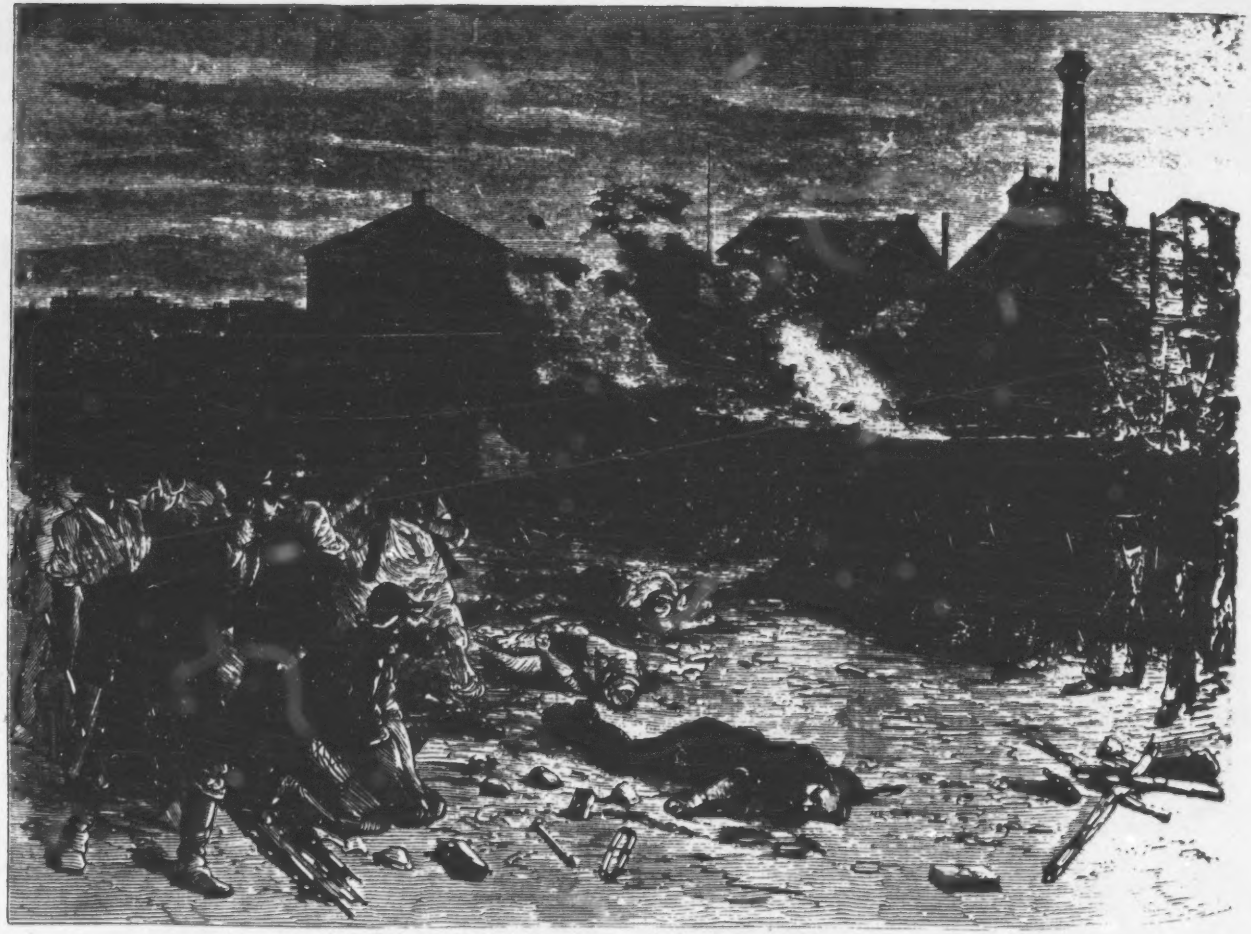
A Mob Disperses the Militia on Guard.

PRIVATE ESTABLISHMENTS RAIDED

Rolling Mills, Machine Shops and Factories Closed.

RAILROAD STRIKE OF 1877

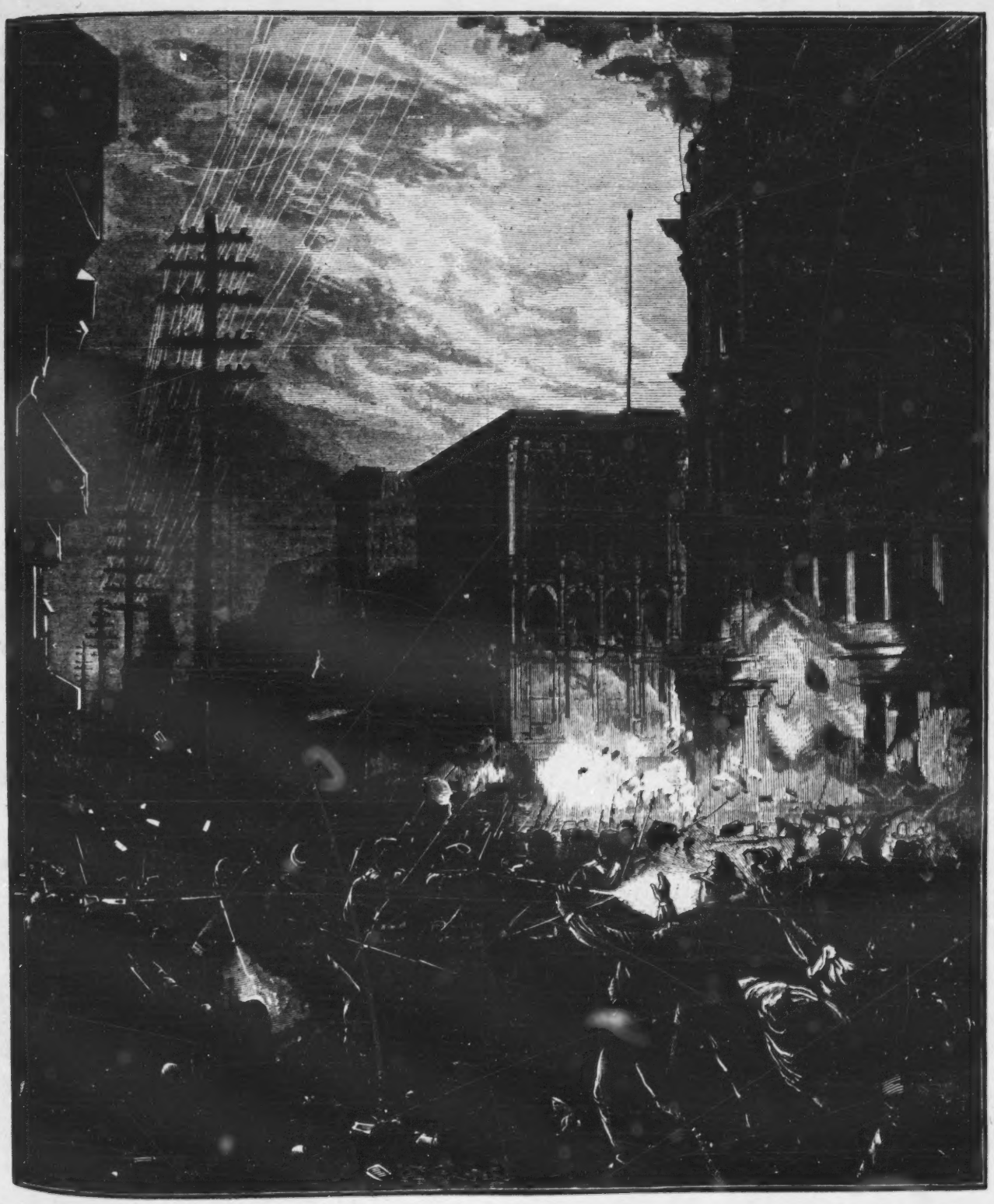
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



FIGHT BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND THE RIOTERS AT THE HALSTED STREET VIADUCT.
THE GREAT STRIKE—SCENES OF RIOT IN CHICAGO.—FROM SKETCHES BY C. AND A. T. SEARS.—[SEE PAGE 647.]

(Fight between the military and the rioters at the Halsted Street viaduct. The Great Strike—Scenes of Riot in Chicago. Harper's Weekly, August 18, 1877, p. 640.)

(The Great Strike—Destruction of the Union Depot and Hotel at Pittsburgh. Harper's Weekly, August 11, 1877, p. 261.)



(The Great Strike—The Sixth Maryland Regiment fighting its way through Baltimore. Harper's Weekly, August 11, 1877.)

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ng the Rioters from Turner Hall. Harper's Weekly, August 18, 1877, p. 640.)

Additional note: Following the Railroad Strike of 1877, a committee of the Pennsylvania State Legislature reported that the railroad riots "...were not a rising against civil or political authority: in their origin they were not intended by their movers as an open and active opposition to the execution of the law ... there was sort of epidemic of strikes running through the laboring classes of the country, more particularly those in the employ of large corporations, caused by the general depression of business, which followed the panic of 1873, by means whereof many men were thrown out of work, and the wages of those who could get work were reduced." Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate the Railroad Riots in July 1877, Legislative Document No. 29, Harrisburg 1878, p. 46.

Materials

"Labor is under Control," Commercial and Financial Chronicle Statement following the execution of nineteen Pittsburgh miners who had been convicted on the evidence given by McParlan, the Pinkerton labor spy.

"Chicago in Possession of Communists," New York Times, July 25, 1877.

"Pittsburgh Sacked: In the hands of men dominated by the Spirit of Communism," New York World, July 22, 1877.

Tom Scott (President of the Pennsylvania Railroad) on July 21, 1877 "give the strikers a rifle diet for a few days and see how they like that kind of bread."

Pittsburgh, July 22, 1877. "War for Wages...the sight presented after the soldiers cease firing was sickening. Twenty men, women, and children killed by Philadelphia militia. ...old men and boys attracted to the scene...lay writhing in the agonies of death, while numbers of children were killed outright. Yellowside, the neighborhood of the scene of conflict, was actually dotted with the dead and dying; while weeping women, cursing loudly and deeply the instruments which had made them widows, were clinging to the bleeding corpses." New York Herald, July 22, 1877.

CLASSROOM EXERCISE

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY AND FIVE-DAY WEEK

Objectives

- The student will identify and list major arguments supporting the eight-hour day and five-day week.
- The student will identify and list major arguments for not supporting the eight-hour day and five-day week.
- The student will produce visual and verbal arguments either supporting or not supporting thw workers' quest for an eight-hour day and five-day week.

Materials

"Fighting for the Shorter Day," and the words to "Eight Hour Day," and "Brave and Gallant Miner Boys."

Strategy

Phase 1

Have the class read "Fighting for the Shorter Work Day." Pass out the words to "Eight Hour Day" and "Brave and Gallant Miner Boys." Have class members draw a line down the center of a sheet of paper and label one column "Reasons for Supporting an Eight-Hour Day," and the other column "Reasons for Not Supporting an Eight Hour Day." The class or the teacher then compiles a master list by eliminating overlapping reasons and combining paralleled reasons.

Phase 2

Show picture 1 (cartoon from Puck ridiculing the shorter work day and the idea that workers could made constructive use of leisure time.) Show picture 2, a cartoon drawn by Charles Dana Gibson, creator of the "Gibson Girl." [Trustees of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art felt that it was blasphemous to draw workers away from the "proper observance of the Lord's Day" by opening the museum on Sunday, the only leisure day workers had. These same trustees did not object to Sunday employment in the factories.]

Activities

(Students who work on the first four activities should also be told that the teacher may also require an explanation of what they have written.)

- Ask students to draw cartoons countering those that appeared in Puck.
- Students can create folk songs supporting the 8-hour day.
- Jingles or poems can be written to support workers in their quest for an 8-hour day.
- Jokes supporting or critical of the 8-hour day can be written by individuals.

Evaluation

- Were students able to identify reasons for supporting or not supporting the 8-hour day?
- Could students use their activities to create visual or verbal arguments for or against the 8-hour day?

He will soon be able to ride to his work in an electric motor carriage.

The noon dinner-pail will be superseded by "Working Gentlemen's Lunch Clubs."

When he takes a day off he can occupy a pleasant hour or so in cutting coupons.

He won't need to go to the corner saloon nights; — a billiard table and light refreshments will be quite within his means at home.

And he may even become so gloriously prosperous, that he can afford to dispense with the Walking Delegate entirely.

WE WOULD MUCH RATHER NOT STRIKE
MORE
OUR LITTLE ONES CRY FOR BREAD. GIVE US HIGHER PAY.
IN THE NAME OF OUR WIVES AND CHILDREN WE DEMAND HIGHER WAGES
JUSTICE FOR THE HORNY-HANDED SONS OF TOIL.
AMALGAMATED IRON WORKERS

If he takes it into his head to strike, he will be able to hire messenger boys to do the marching.

A GOLDEN AGE AHEAD FOR THE WORKINGMAN.

AT THE RATE THAT WAGES ARE INCREASING HE WILL BE IN CLOVER.

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35 (Puck, June 12, 1895.) 36

WE MEAN TO HAVE 8 HOURS

We mean to make things over
We're tired of toil for nought
But bare enough to live on: never
An hour for thought.
We want to feel the sunshine: we
Want to smell the flowers
We're sure that God has willed it
And we mean to have eight hours.
We're summoning our forces from
Shipyard, shop and mill
Eight hours for work:
Eight hours for rest.
Eight hours for what we will!

WE'RE BRAVE AND GALLANT MINER BOYS

We're brave and gallant miner boys who
work down underground
For courage and good nature no finer can
be found
We work both late and early, and get but
little pay
To support our wives and children in free
Amerikay.
If Satan took the blacklegs,* I'm sure 'twould
be no sin,
What peace and happiness 'twould be for
us poor working men.
Eight hours we'd have for working, eight
hours we'd have for play;
Eight hours we'd have for sleeping in free.

*those working for management

CLASSROOM EXERCISE

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR

Objectives

- After an introductory lecture on the Knights of Labor, the student will demonstrate a basic command of the material by discussing the concepts of secrecy and brotherhood and relating them to the organization and growth of the Knights of Labor.
- Given the oath, cypher, ceremonies and secret work of the Knights of Labor, the student will interact with the class by role playing a part in the meeting of a local assembly.
- Following the local assembly meeting the student will participate in a class discussion that examines the necessity of oaths, signs and signals, ceremonies and screening devices in an early labor organization.

Materials

Picture of "Calling a Meeting," and "Cypher Words, Ceremonies and Secret Work of the Knights of Labor."

Strategy

Show the picture and discuss the secrecy in organizations and the hostility of mine owners toward organized labor. In a brief lecture cover the following points:

- Secrecy was necessary for the survival of the Knights of Labor during its initial period of growth because:
  - mine owners blacklisted known union members.
  - the rituals and customs used in the organization had a great deal of appeal to workers who could not join fraternal orders such as the Masons.
- When the organization was first formed, secrecy was necessary because it provided protection against informers and promoted a sense of brotherhood.
- The Knights of Labor referred to itself as ***** at first—the organization did not use its name publicly hence the nickname "Five Star Society." Members chalked slogans preceeded by ***** on walls, fences, and the gates of mines and factories
- Prior to 1879, all those joining the Knights took the oath:

  "I...do truly and solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will never reveal by word, act or implication, positive or negative, to any person or persons whatsoever, the name or object of this Order, the name or person of anyone a member thereof, its signs, mysteries, arts, privileges or benefits now or hereafter given to or conferred on me, any words spoken, acts done or objects intended; except in a legal or authorized manner specified by special permission of the Order granted to me."

- In the late 1870's - early 1880's, the Knights of Labor relaxed its secret rules somewhat in response to several sets of pressures.
  - Membership in the Knights of Labor was forbidden to Catholics by the Church hierarchy who believed the organization to be hostile toward the religion.
  - Rumors were spread by employers linking the Knights with the kinds of activities carried on by the Molly Maguires during the 1870's.
  - More and more the public began to suspect that the Knights of Labor were undermining and plotting against the Republic.
- The Knights of Labor gradually lessoned some of the secrecy surrounding the organization, thus allowing the Knights to more effectively use the strikes and boycott.

The teacher should either hand out the words to the Knights of Labor oath or be sure that the students have the words to it prior to the

end of class. Inform them that they should know it well enough the next day to be able to recite it in a group.

Strategy - Second Day

Have students recite the oath of the Knights of Labor. Distribute "Cypher Words, Ceremonies and Secret Work of the Knights of Labor."

Break the class into three groups:

(1) one group composed of the Master Workmen, Worthy Foreman, Unknown Knight, Venerable Sage, Outside Esquire and Inside Esquire.
(2) another group made up of three or four visiting members.
(3) and the remaining class members taking the part of the local assembly.

Group 1

Instruct the first group that there are rumors of a problem of great importance, and a meeting will probably have to be called. Word of the nature of the problem will most likely come from visiting members from the Mariana assembly. When the expected message arrives, they will have to call a meeting of the local assembly using the special meeting sign, go through the secret work with the local members, and apply the test to the visitors.

Group 2

Group 2 brings a message, in cypher, from the Mariana assembly—"The Mariana assembly has been infiltrated by Pinkertons. Your assembly should check its membership to be sure that everyone knows the secret work and instructions in order to guard against infiltrators." Remind group 2 to have their visiting papers in order.

Group 3

Inform group 3 that they must know the secret work and instructions in order to participate in a forthcoming meeting and that there are possible Pinkerton infiltrators in the local assembly.

Note to the Instructor

Give group 2 enough lead time to put the message in cypher. Also, be sure to provide groups 1 and 2 with sufficient time to learn the rituals and make any necessary equipment. All but the actual meeting can be assigned as homework, or a few minutes in two class sessions may be given over to planning for the meeting. A three-day period beginning with the picture "Calling a Meeting," and ending with an actual meeting is the minimum time that should be allotted.

ARBITRARY CYPHER WORDS

On and after November 1st, 1882, and until further notice, the following cypher will be used for all telegrams and other communications likely to fall into the hands of those not entitled to the information contained therein:

The number of words contained in any communication to be transmitted in this cypher *must be divisable by 4*, as 8, 12, 16, etc.; and where the message does not contain sufficient words to be so divisable by 4, enough *meaningless* words *must* be added to make it so.

In preparing a message for transmission in this cypher, first write it out *four words to the line*, as in the following example:

Corresponding	delegates	should	have
their	monthly	reports	in
the	hands	of	District
Secretary	by	second	or
third	of	the	month
so	that	he	may
be	able	to	compile
and	forward	to	each
Assembly	a	detailed	statement
of	the	condition	of
the	District	laughter	tears

(It will be seen that the last two words: "laughter, tears," are *meaningless*, and are merely added to make the number of words divisable by four.)

To reduce the foregoing message to cypher, proceed as follows:

Read the fourth column *down*
" " first " "
" " third " "
" " second " "

After having been re-written according to these instructions, the message will read as follows:

"Have in District or month may compile each statement of tears corresponding their the Secretary third so be and Assembly of the should reports of second the he to to detailed condition laughter delegates monthly hands by of that able forward a the district." (44 words.)

To translate the message as it stands in cypher, proceed as follows:

Make four ruled columns, *then take the first fourth of the whole number of words in the message*, (being 11 in this case) and, beginning at the *top* place them, one under another in the *fourth* column; next take the second eleven words, and, beginning at the *top* of the *first* column, write them one under another, commencencing with "Corresponding," then putting "their" under it, then "the," and so on; next take the *third* 11 words, commencing at "should" and write them one under another in the *third* column; next take the *fourth* and last 11 words, and, beginning at the top of the *second* column, write them one under the other.

When the operation is completed, it will be seen that the message stands just as it did when first placed in the ruled columns preparatory to being put in cypher.

By observing the foregoing rules it will be easy to prepare for transmission or translate any message, always remembering that "4" is the governing number.

Harper's Weekly, March 24, 1888

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W.A. (*or M.W.*) Venerable Sage, How can the **PIVOW** and **XIOZ IHAWH** of the **CPONXEL IM OVVIH** attain their objects.

V.S By ever standing **MIIE EL MIIE, XVPA OP XVPA,** and **BOPA ⊥OLX BOPA** an unbroken circle of HARMONY.

W.A. (*or M.W.*) Venerable Sage, How do the **PIVOW** and **XIOZ IHAWH** of the **CPONXEL IM OVVIH** receive others into fellowship?

V.S. By standing **MIIE EI MIIE,** etc. (*as above*), an unbroken circle of HARMONY and FRIENDSHIP.

W.A. (or M.W.) Venerable Sage, how can the **PIVOW** and **XIOZ IHAWH** of the **CPONXEL IM OVVIH**

The W.A. (or M.W.) shall draft or describe the **NHWVE LWVO IM CPONXEXIIA** at the centre, and when done resume his station, give **EXHWW HVFL,** form the members of the new Assembly in a chain around the centre (the other officers standing at their stations) and say: —

W.A. (*or M.W.*) Thus do I imprint the **NHWVE LWVO IM CPONXEXIIA** on the centre of the Sanctuary, and thereby dedicate it to the service of God by serving Humanity. Brothers, look well upon that Sacred Symbol of "God and Humanity," and indelibly imprint it upon your memory.

THIS CARD MUST BE KEPT BY THE M. W.

PASS-WORD

FOR a LOCAL ASSEMBLY ATTACHED to the GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Good until July 1, 1886.

PASS-WORD

TO BE GIVEN AT THE OUTER VEIL,

EXOPC

TO BE GIVEN AT THE INNER VEIL,

AWMIHW VAEOPN

When a Local is transferred to a District Assembly, this Password must be no longer used.

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This Secret Work must be returned to the General Secretary-Treasurer, registered, within sixty days after its receipt by you DO NOT FORGET IT.

SECRET WORK AND INSTRUCTIONS.

We give you herewith the official and correct secret work for Locals. If there is any sign or portion of a sign, grip or part of a grip, words or symbols, in use in your Local different from what you find laid down here, discard the same at once, no matter where or from whom received. It is not official or authorized. Give the secret work hereafter just as you find it here; give nothing that you do not find here, and there will be no trouble from lack of uniformity throughout the Order.

The work is here given, for the sake of convenience, in the order in which it occurs in the instructions of the Venerable Sage, as follows:

ENTERING SIGNAL—INNER VEIL.

Three raps, given in this peculiar manner: One, a short pause—then two in quick succession.

SIGN OF OBLITERATION.

Place the palm of the right hand on the palm of the left hand—both hands in front of the body at the height of the elbow—elbows close to the body—right hand uppermost. Then separate the hands right and left, as if wiping something off the left hand with the right—elbows still touching the sides—right palm down—left palm up. Then drop both hands naturally at the sides.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS.—Do not bring the hands together with a slap or noise. Do not hold the hands higher than the elbows. In separating the hands, do not throw them out sideways beyond a line with the body. This sign being used more than any other, strive to have your members make it in an easy and graceful manner.

ANSWER—SIGN OF DECORATION.

Place the index finger of the right hand on the left breast, back of hand to the front.

GRIP.

The grip is to be made as in ordinarily shaking of hands. The thumb to be placed over the fingers immediately back of the knuckles. Give one heavy pressure with the thumb, and, if returned, answer with two light pressures in quick succession without removing the hand.

The single asterisk or star stands for "thumb," thus: As the thumb distinguishes man, etc.

SIGN OF INTELLIGENCE.

The Sign of Intelligence is made by placing the index finger of the right hand in the centre of the forehead—the last three fingers of the hand closed over the thumb—back of hand to the front.

SIGN OF RECOGNITION.

Carelessly close the fingers over the thumb of the left hand and drop it to the side. The answer to be made with the right hand in the same manner. In case of doubt reverse the action.

VERBAL CHALLENGE.

The following words are to be used when a member is seeking work or information: "I AM HERE." A member replying to the challenge with: "YOU ARE WELCOME." Any other words may be used after the word "*here*," so as not to attract attention, as "*I am here*" on business, and the answer "*You are welcome*" to any assistance I can give you.

CRY OF DISTRESS.

To be used in the dark, or when the Sign of Recognition cannot be used. The words are: "I am a *stranger*," giving emphasis to the word stranger. Any member of the Order hearing this will answer: "A *stranger* should be assisted."

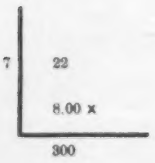
CAUTION.—As the value of the Cry of Distress, for practical use, depends entirely on accuracy of wording, great care should be exercised in instructing candidates, especially as great irregularity now exists. The words given above are all of the *official* work, although members are allowed to supplement the words given with others, so as not to attract undue attention from those not members, as, for instance: "I am a stranger, and need assistance." Answer—"A stranger should be assisted, and I for one am willing to help you." Any other similar additional words may be used, but when instructing candidates use care not to confound the official part with the unofficial.

SIGN OF CAUTION.

Close three fingers of the right hand, leaving the thumb and index finger parallel to each other and pressed together. Bend the first and second joints of the index finger over the end of the thumb, and with the hand thus closed place it under the chin, which will thus rest upon the thumb and index finger.

These signs should not be used except in cases of absolute necessity.

SPECIAL MEETING SIGN.



A perpendicular and horizontal line, meeting at right angles. The hour of meeting is placed over the *horizontal* line, the number of the Local under it. The month, designated by a figure, as 7 for July, is placed to the left of the *perpendicular* line; the day of the month to the right of it. The horizontal line may be placed either at the top or bottom of the perpendicular line, and may run either to the right or left of it. All that is required are two lines, one horizontal and the other perpendicular, meeting at right angles. When the hour of meeting is *before* noon, the sign x is placed *before* the hour of meeting. When it is *after* noon, then *after* the hour. The illustration given reads that a special session of Local Assembly No. 300 will be held July 22, at 8 o'clock, P. M.

NOTE.—This sign is to be used only in cases where Locals are working secretly.

THE TEST.

The Master Workman and Worthy Foreman are the only officers of a Local Assembly allowed to be instructed in the test, as the Worthy Foreman has to act in the absence of the Master Workman, and must be competent to examine a visiting member, or give the proper instructions to a member who has been granted a traveling card. It must never be given to candidates as part of the instructions of the Venerable Sage, nor to any member until a traveling card has been granted, except as hereafter provided. The

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Master Workman of a Local is authorized to instruct in the test and communicate the annual traveling password to a visiting member of the Order upon the presentation of a traveling card and a written request, over the signatures of Master Workman, Recording Secretary and Financial Secretary of the Assembly to which the visitor belongs. (See No. 85, Decisions of the General Master Workman.)

The Master Workman of a Local may also instruct in the test and communicate the annual traveling password to any member of the Local who may have been elected as a Representative to the General Assembly, but only just previous to starting for the session. With these exceptions, neither the test nor the annual traveling password can be given except to a member who has been granted a traveling card. It is intended solely for the protection of Locals against the large number of expelled and suspended members who are roaming around the country, and, taken in connection with the annual traveling password and traveling card, is a sure protection, for if the laws are complied with by Local officers it will be an impossibility for a member not in good standing to get possession of all three.

The following instructions will insure both a proper examination of visitors and instruction of members who have been granted a traveling card:

A member of the Order visiting a Local on a traveling card will be admitted to the Vestibule, give the entering signal at the Inner Veil, and pass in the traveling card instead of the usual written slip. This will be announced in the usual manner by the Worthy Foreman. The Master Workman and Worthy Foreman will call some competent members to their chairs and proceed to the Vestibule and receive from the visitor the annual traveling password. It is not intended that the test shall be imperatively exacted from a visitor in every case. A traveling card, where the time written upon its face has not expired, is evidence of membership in good standing in the Order, and ordinarily is deemed sufficient, with the annual traveling password, to admit the visitor to the Assembly. The test is simply additional evidence of membership in good standing, and it is left optional with officers, to be guided by circumstances and their best judgment in the matter. Should there be anything in the appearance of the visitor or the card to warrant a reasonable suspicion that all was not right, the Master Workman will furnish the visitor with a piece of paper and pencil and request the test.

SYMBOL.

The visiting member must make the Symbol, as shown in the diagram, without hint or assistance. Place it on the triangular table, and place the *Master Workman* opposite the letters "M. A.;" the *Worthy Foreman* opposite the letter "O.;" and the visiting member opposite the letter "S." The words to be used are: "I am a member in good standing," the visitor beginning and ending, each saying one word at a time, in a double round, thus: *Visitor*, "I"—*W. F.*, "am"—*M. W.*, "a"—*Visitor*, "member"—*W. F.*, "in"—*M. W.*, "good"—*Visitor*, "standing."

Members who have been granted a traveling card must be thoroughly instructed in the *test*, so as to know what will be expected of them. The *Venerable Sage*, being a retired Master Workman, is always supposed to be in possession of the *test*, and can take the place of the Master Workman or Worthy Foreman in the examination of visitors, if desired. Organizers are also furnished with the *test*, and should thoroughly instruct the Master Workman or Worthy Foreman of new Locals. If there is a change in the office of Master Workman or Worthy Foreman, it is the duty of the retiring Master Workman to instruct the new officers in all the secret work, including the *test*.

The General Assembly, at the Philadelphia session, decided to return to the old form of initiation, and the A. K. is changed accordingly. The Unknown Knight administers the pledge, after which he proceeds with candidate to the Worthy Foreman for instructions, then to the Master Workman for the address, and finally to the Venerable Sage.

The password issued by District Master Workmen for the use of Local Assemblies attached to Districts is changed semi-annually, in January and July of each year.

The following instructions by the General Master Workman as to the proper manner of opening a Local Assembly are hereby officially promulgated:

"When the Master Workman takes his stand at the capital and says: 'All persons not entitled to sit,' etc., the Worthy Inspector takes the Globe and Lance and proceeds to mark the Outer and Inner Veils with them. Previous to that all persons were at liberty to enter the room, but the Veils are then closed and none can enter without giving the password. When the Worthy Inspector goes to the Outer Veil to put the Globe in its place the Outside Esquire takes his place in the ante-room, and when the Worthy Inspector enters the Inner Veil the Inside Esquire takes his place. The Worthy Foreman brings the Outside Esquire in with him when he returns after examining the Veils. A member of the Order is not required to give the password at the Veils until the proper symbols are in their places; and if these were not in place, while the Worthy Inspector was taking up the password a shrewd person could slip in without giving the password to either the Outside Esquire or Inside Esquire, and at the same time elude the vigilance of the Worthy Inspector."

Fraternally,

Jno. W. Hayes.

General Secretary-Treasurer.

From Local Assembly No. *Recorded on page*

CLASSROOM EXERCISE

FOLK SONGS AS A SOURCE OF EVIDENCE AND AS BASES FOR HYPOTHESES

Objectives

- The student will participate with the class in singing "Solidarity Forever" and "Casey Jones."
- Following participation in singing the folk songs the student will speculate on the form, basic idea, mood and form of persuasion used in each song.
- Using the classes insights about the songs, the student will formulate hypotheses on the motivations, demands and organizational tactics of organized groups that regularly used these songs.
- The student will formulate hypotheses on the reactions of general public business leaders and political leaders to the songs and the labor organizations that used them.

Materials

Words to "Solidarity Forever" and "Casey Jones."

Strategy

Folk songs usually record peoples' emotional responses and feelings toward an event or social situation. A folk song can, thus, provide the researcher with data both about an event and the emotions of people who wrote and sang the tune. The folk tunes in this exercise all deal with the emotions and ideas of participants in or observers of organized labor unions. Instruct students to read the folk songs carefully. Sing the songs. If any students play guitars, have them accompany the group.

Sample Evidence Questions

- What idea or ideas form the core of each song?
- Describe the mood of each of these songs—anger, hope, powerlessness, etc.
- Are there any moods, ideas, feelings common to two or more of the folk songs? To all of them?
- What form of persuasion is being used in each song, that is, what techniques did the balladeer use in hope of getting listeners to join unions?

The Informed Guess—Building Hypotheses

- What informed guess or guesses (hypothesis or hypotheses) can be made about the outlooks—desires, dreams, and anxieties—of the men and women who organized these groups?
- Once the groups were organized in the process of being organized they would begin to make demands—what would these demands be?
- What tactics would be used to gain what they wanted?

- What hypothesis can be made on the possibility of the three groups represented by the songs joining together into one organization?
- Construct a hypothesis about how the general public reacted or felt about these organizations.
- Formulate an hypothesis regarding how business leaders responded to these groups.
- Formulate an hypothesis on the reaction of political leaders to the organization.

SOLIDARITY FOREVER

(Words: Ralph Chaplin, Tune: Battle Hymn of the Republic)

1

When the Union's inspiration through
the worker's blood shall run,
There can be no power greater anywhere
beneath the sun.
Yet what force on earth is weaker than
the feeble strength of one?
But the Union makes us strong.

CHORUS:

Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,
For the Union makes us strong.

2

They have taken untold millions, that they never
toiled to earn,
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel
could turn;
We can break their haughty power, gain our freedom
when we learn --
That the Union makes us strong

CHORUS

3

In our hands is placed a power greater than their
hoarded gold,
Greater than the might of armies magnified a
thousand fold,
We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes
of the old,
For the Union makes us strong.

CHORUS

CASEY JONES—THE UNION SCAB
By Joe Hill

The Workers on the S.P. line to strike sent out a call;
But Casey Jones, the engineer, he wouldn't strike at all;
His boiler it was leaking, and its drivers on the bum,
And his engines and its bearings, they were all out of plumb.

CHORUS

Casey Jones kept his junk pile running;
Casey Jones was working double time;
Casey Jones got a wooden medal,
For being good and faithful on the S.P. line.

The Workers said to Casey: "Won't you help us win this strike?"
But Casey said: "Let me alone, you'd better take a hike."
Then some one put a bunch of railroad ties across the track,
And Casey hit the river with an awful crack.

Casey Jones hit the river bottom;
Casey Jones broke his blooming spine,
Casey Jones was an Angeleno,
He took a trip to heaven on the S.P. line.

When Casey Jones got up to heaven to the Pearly Gate
He said: "I'm Casey Jones, the guy that pulled the S.P. freight."
"You're just the man," said Peter; 'our musicians went on strike;
You can get a job a-scabbing any time you like."

Casey Jones got a job in heaven;
Casey Jones was doing might fine;
Casey Jones went scabbing on the angels,
Just like he did to workers on the S.P. line.

The angels got together, and they said it wasn't fair,
For Casey Jones to go around a-scabbing everywhere.
The Angels' Union No. 23, they sure were there,
And they promptly fired Casey down the Golden Stair.

Casey Jones went to Hell a-flying.
"Casey Jones," the Devil said, "Oh fine;
Casey Jones, get busy shoveling sulphur;
That's what you get for scabbing on the S.P. line."

CLASSROOM EXERCISE

CHILD LABOR

Objectives

- Given pictures of school-age children laboring in industrial concerns and mines, the student will participate with the class in speculating on the reasons why children were hired to perform the tasks observed.
- After viewing pictures of workers who had sustained severe injuries, the student will formulate a brief scenario outlining the future prospects of a child injured on the job during the period 1890-1910 and present it to the class.
- The student will demonstrate the ability to analyze cartoons dealing with child labor by deriving inferences from selected drawings and sharing these conclusions with the class.
- After reacting to the six sets of pictures, the student viewer will critique the social theories of Russell H. Conwell and Horatio Alger and transmit his/her analysis via classroom discussion.

Materials

Pictures 1, 2, 3 "In the mines," picture 4 "The glass factory," pictures 5, 6 "The food processing plant," 7, 8, "Job injuries," pictures 9, 10, 11 "Reactions to child labor," and pictures 12, 13, 14 "Night schools."

Strategy

Have students write the scenario suggested in objective 2 above.

Show pictures in sets:

Set 1. "In the mines"
Set 2. "The glass factory"
Set 3. "The food processing plant"
Set 4. "Job injuries"
Set 5. "Reactions to child labor"
Set 6. "Night schools"

Stop after each of the first four sets and ask for student reactions. Pursue questions such as:

- Why did they hire children in this particular industry?
- Are there any apparent dangers to the kind of work they are doing?
- Could a person continue to work in this industry if he or she were disabled?
- Why, in general, were children rather than adults hired in these various industries?

Show set 5 - "Reactions to Child Labor" and have students interpret the sketches.

- What opinions are being expressed in each of these cartoons?

- What are the implied reasons in each cartoon for opposing child labor?
- What characteristics do the children in the first picture have in common?
- What are the children in the first scene doing? (In 1916 President Wilson signed legislation controlling child labor but the Supreme Court ruled the measure invalid.)
- What is the girl in the second picture doing? What is the political cartoonist implying about the relationship between business and child labor?

Show set 6 - "Night Schools"

- In what way do the eleven scenes, in particular the last two, support or refute the upward mobility thesis of Horatio Alger?

Ask students their opinion on the scenarios they wrote on the previous day. Does the upward mobility thesis appear as strong as ever? What are their estimates of, say, the chances of a child laborer in a glass factory becoming owner of the factory or one like it?

Pictures 1, 2, 3 - "IN THE MINES"

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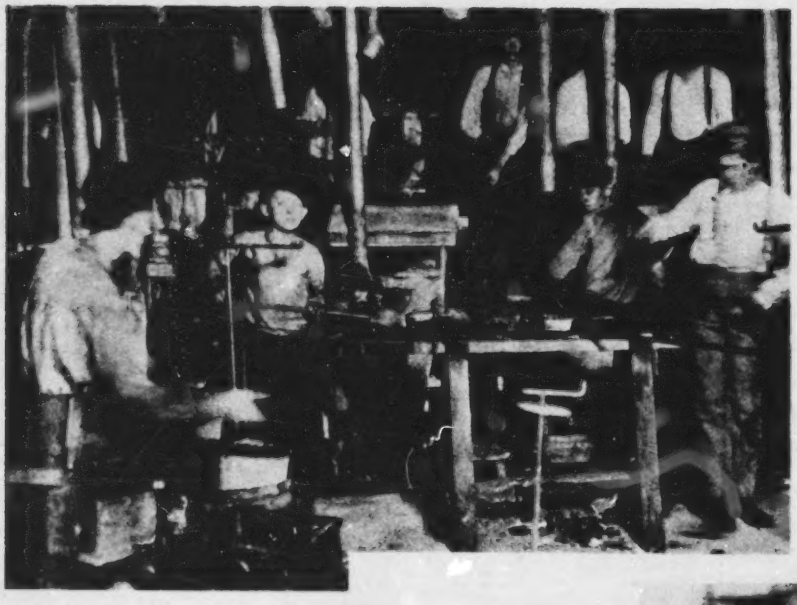

Picture 4 - "THE GLASS FACTORY"

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Pictures 5, 6 - "THE FOOD PROCESSING PLANT"

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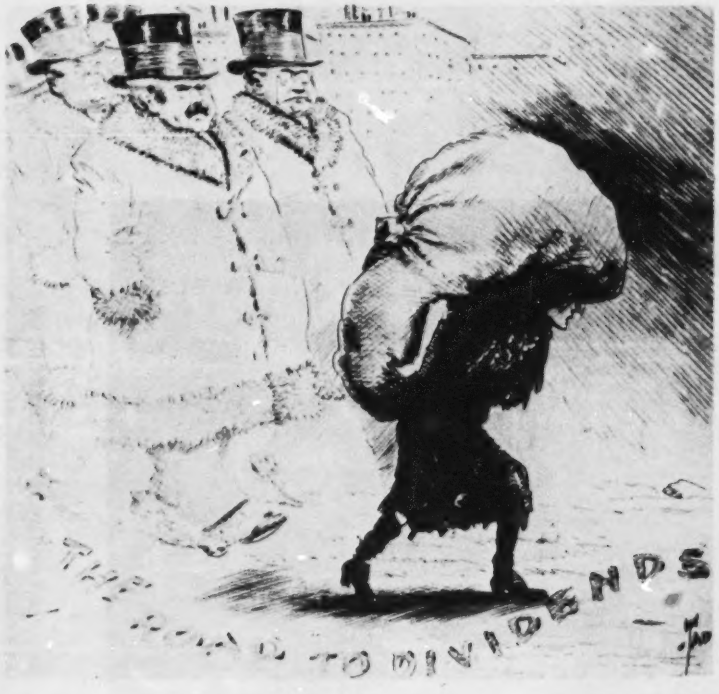
Pictures 9, 10, 11

"REACTIONS TO CHILD LABOR"



CLASSROOM EXERCISE

"THE INHERITANCE"

Objectives

- The student will view and listen to examples of the struggle for union organization between labor and management.
- The student will apply his knowledge of the growth of union organization in the 1930's by role playing in a simulated environment in "A National Labor Relations Law."
- The student will formulate tentative hypotheses on the struggle for union organization which will be reformulated in "A National Labor Relations Law."

Materials

The film "The Inheritance."

Strategy

The instructor should explain prior to screening the film that it was produced by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, AFL/CIO. The film should be viewed in light of these facts: (1) it was produced by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers to show the development and history of that union and the parallel growth of the American Labor Movement, (2) it is admittedly pro-union, and (3) it was designed to appeal to the emotions.

CLASSROOM EXERCISE

A NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS LAW

Objectives

- The student will identify the historical setting in which the first complete labor-management relations law was enacted by participating in a simulated Senate session.
- The student will differentiate between the stands of two hypothetical political parties on union organization and collective bargaining.
- The student will develop and analyze the positions of both parties on the National Labor Relations Law.
- The student will transmit the position of his party to members of an opposing party during a role playing situation.
- The student will consider the platform of the other political party involved in the simulation and asses its validity in relation to the historical context of the 1930's.
- The student will assess the National Labor Relations Law in light of objective information and realistic evidence developed in prior sessions, and be able to defend his position on this law.

Materials

Chalk and blackboard.

Strategy

The instructor should state that the time is 1935. The place is the United States Senate. Class members are to play the role of U.S. Senators by caucusing, debating, and voting upon a proposed law.

Divide the class into two groups - Party A and Party B. At its most recent convention, Party A took a position in favor of the proposed law. Party B is opposed.

The instructor should write on the blackboard the major provisions of the law.

1. Employers must not fire or otherwise discipline workers for advocating or attempting to form labor unions.

2. Workers desiring to form labor unions, petition the government to conduct an election. If a majority of workers desires to be represented by a union, all workers participating in the election will be represented by the union.

3. Employers must recognize a duly elected union as the sole bargaining agent for employees and engage in collective bargaining with the union.

15 minutes-Caucus

Each party is to caucus separately and select 3 spokesmen - one for each of the 3 provisions of the proposed law. The parties are to draw upon material examined in previous sessions and develop arguments supporting their positions.

24 minutes-Debate

Each spokesman for Parties A and B is to receive a maximum of 3 minutes to present arguments supporting his position and a maximum of 1 minute for rebuttal. The following sequence should be employed:

Provision 1	Provision 2	Provision 3
Party A - 3 minutes	Party A - 3 minutes	Party A - 3 minutes
Party B - 3 minutes	Party B - 3 minutes	Party B - 3 minutes
Party A - 1 minute	Party A - 1 minute	Party A - 1 minute
Party B - 1 minute	Party B - 1 minute	Party B - 1 minute

At the termination of the debate, a show of hands vote is to be taken. Senators are not bound by their party's position in voting.

If time remains, the instructor should ask individual students why they voted as they did.

As a homework assignment, students are to write a position paper in which they take a stand on the major provisions of the National Labor Relations Law. Students should be instructed that they will be evaluated on their ability to take a clear position and support it with facts drawn from previous sessions and in which definitions, legal questions, and value issues are dealt with in a logical manner.

CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

"THE AIRPLANE FACTORY"

Objectives

- The student will demonstrate the technique of role playing by assuming the role of a member of the National Labor Relations Board, worker, or supervisor while participating in the simulated environment of an airplane factory.
- The student will discuss why workers form unions during the debriefing/discussion phase of "The Airplane Factory."
- The student will compare and contrast the advantages and disadvantages of self-employment with being an employee during a structured discussion.
- The student will examine and participate through role playing in the election processes established by the National Labor Relations Act.
- The student will examine and present evidence of unfair labor practice charges.

Strategy

For homework, the class prior to the initiation of the "Airplane Factory," assign the reading of "A Labor Law Handbook" to the class.

Select two students to assume the roles of representatives of the National Labor Relations Board. Their functions are to decide unfair labor practice cases and to administer representation elections.

Then, divide the class into two groups (a class of 15 to 20 students can comprise one group.) and assign an NLRB representative to each group. Within each group, select three students to assume the roles of supervisors. Give each a name tag to be affixed on their person and instruct them to play the role in the manner they believe to be connoted by the name. The three supervisory roles are:

1. Mr. Fair Guy
2. Mr. Bigot
3. Miss Anti Union

Divide the remaining students between the two groups and advise them to assume the roles of workers. Assign the following roles in sequence to the workers in each group:

1. Mr. Average Worker
2. Mrs. Average Worker
3. Mr. Union Organizer
4. Miss Union Sympathizer
5. Ms. Minority Rights Organizer
6. Mr. Minority Worker
7. Mr. Super Inefficient Bumbler
8. Miss Inefficient Bumbler
9. Miss Average Worker
10. Mr. Union Sympathizer
11. Mrs. Minority Worker
12. Mr. Inefficient Bumbler

The simulation is not dependent upon the presence of 12 workers in each group. For classes in excess of 32 students, additional worker roles should be assigned by the Instructor.

Give each worker a name tag to be affixed to his person, and instruct the workers to play their roles in the manner they believe to be connoted by the name assigned.

Arrange in semicircles 12 student desks for each group of workers.

PHASE ONE

Instruct the supervisors to develop a method for producing paper airplanes utilizing the workers in their group in assembly line fashion. For example, one worker might tear sheets of paper off a pad and pass them on to two workers who fold the papers in half and pass them on to two other workers who make a fold necessary for wings, etc. Supervisors are advised to utilize the "Bumblers" at the end of the assembly line.

Allow 5 minutes for the workers to discuss among themselves how they will play their roles and for the supervisors to develop a prototype airplane and a method of production.

Allow 5 minutes for the supervisors to instruct the workers as to their tasks and to make the assembly line operational.

The assembly line should operate for 5 minutes. Supervisors are to observe the operation.

At the end of the 5-minute operation, supervisors are to be instructed that three workers must be released due to a decline in sales, wages must be reduced by 5 percent for the remaining workers, and production maintained at its previous level despite the reduction in the work force.

Each supervisor is then asked to determine independently of the other supervisors, which workers are to be released and to write their selections on the blackboard.

If complete agreement exists, have the layoff proceed and the assembly line resume with production at the higher rate of speed.

If agreement does not exist among the supervisors, allow them 3 minutes to reach a joint decision. Then, have the layoff proceed and the assembly line resume with production at the higher rate of speed.

Next, choose the supervisor in each group whose surname has the most letters (in case of a tie, flip a coin) and announce that she/he must be laid off due to the loss of sales.

Have the assembly line resume production for 1 minute.

Announce that because sales have increased, all laid off employees are reinstated. However, wages will remain at their reduced rate and the rate of production at its increased rate.

Have the assembly line resume production for 1 minute.

PHASE TWO

Give each "Mr. Union Organizer" a stack of Union Authorization Cards.

Presumably, he will pass the cards out to his fellow workers. If 30 percent of the workers indicate their desire to join the union by signing the cards, Mr. Union Organizer will present the cards and a "Petition for Election" to the NLRB representative, who will authorize an election.

If 30 percent of the workers do or do not sign authorization cards, announce that the employer has agreed to allow the union to campaign for votes for the next 15 minutes. Correspondingly, the supervisors will campaign against the union.

Take both "Miss Anti Union" and "Mr. Union Organizer" aside and tell them to commit Unfair Labor Practices. Give each the proper "Unfair Labor Practice Charge" forms in sufficient quantity for all the workers and all the supervisors.

If 30 percent of the workers in each group have signed authorization cards, have the NLRB representative conduct and monitor the election by passing out ballots to each worker and tallying the results.

At this point, workers and supervisors should individually read their Unfair Labor Practice Charges to the group. The NLRB representative should decide the cases. Appeals of his decision should be made to the instructor.

If the NLRB representative finds sufficient grounds for an Unfair Labor Practice by either side, the election is to be invalidated and another election is to be held.

PHASE THREE

The third phase consists of a debriefing/discussion session. Among the possible questions for discussion:

- Discuss the criteria used in making the layoff decisions. Were the evaluations fair? Does the old adage "beauty is in the eye of the beholder" have any applicability to this situation? Was the situation realistic? Could it happen? What could be done about it?
- Compare and contrast the advantages and disadvantages for the workers if the planes were constructed by self-employed craftsmen rather than by employees.
- Are the people who are supervisors really different from the people who are workers? For example, what might happen if Ms. Minority Rights Organizer became a supervisor?
- Why do workers form unions?
- Is the law fair in not granting supervisors the protection of the National Labor Relations Act?
- Should the precedures established by the National Labor Relations Act to assure a fair election by extended to the political scene?
- Are there advantages to collective action over individual action? If so, what are they? Are there situations where individual action is more effective? If so, describe.
- Should a worker be forced to join a union? Why or why not?
- Ask students to what degree they empathized with the roles they played.

Materials

- Approximately 100 sheets of 8 1/2 X 11 inch paper
- A "Labor Law Handbook" for each student
- "Union Authorization Cards" for each worker
- A "Notice of Election"
- Appropriate "Unfair Labor Practice Charge" forms for all workers and supervisors
- Ballots for all workers

Evaluation

- Were students able to empathize with the roles they played?
- Did classroom discussion indicate that the objectives of the session had been met?

Date: . . . . . .

I, ...
(Print Your Full Name)

employed by . . . . . .
(Name of Business Employed by and Location)
have voluntarily accepted membership in the PAPER AIRPLANE MAKERS UNION OF AMERICA and designate the Union as my bargaining agent in all matters pertaining to wages, hours, and other conditions of employment.

. . . . . _____
(Job Classification) (Sign Your Name)

. . . . . _____
(Social Security Number) (Print Your Home Address)

Date: . . . . . .

I, ...
(Print Your Full Name)

employed by . . . . . .
(Name of Business Employed by and Location)
have voluntarily accepted membership in the PAPER AIRPLANE MAKERS UNION OF AMERICA and designate the Union as my bargaining agent in all matters pertaining to wages, hours, and other conditions of employment.

. . . . . _____
(Job Classification) (Sign Your Name)

. . . . . _____
(Social Security Number) (Print Your Home Address)

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EMPLOYMENT APPLICATION

It is understood that any agreement entered into between this company and the applicant is predicated upon the truthfulness of the statements herein contained.

SIGNATURE _____

CLASSROOM EXERCISE

BUSINESS ENTERPRISE ROLE PLAYING SITUATION

Objectives

- The student will engage in economic analysis of the market system by participating in a role playing situation.
- The student will identify and assess the interdependence between labor and management by working cooperatively to achieve the mix of wages and profits necessary for worker satisfaction and survival of the business enterprise.

Materials

Copies for all students of "Business Enterprise Role Playing Situation."

Strategy

Divide the class into 5 groups. Divide each group into union and management components. Distribute the "Business Enterprise Role Playing Situation" to all class members. The exercise is self-explanatory but the teacher should keep track of the time for each of the phases.

Upon completion of the role playing situation, the following questions should form the basis for discussion.

Questions for Discussion

- What is the lowest price per ton which could have been bid and which would have assured being able to complete the contract?

  Answer: $8.50
  5% rate of profit
  $100 wage

  (Any price resulting from either a rate of profit below 5% or wages below $100 (or both) would not allow the contract to be completed.)

- Would the price per ton which won the contract have been higher if the union and management representatives of all the companies had gotten together and determined what price was in their best interests, particularly if it is certain that the government will restore its previous level of purchases next year?

  (Yes, prices would have probably remained at $9.10 or perhaps even gone higher. This is why we have anti-trust laws which outlaws businesses from getting together and setting prices, and Supreme Court decisions prohibiting unions from cooperating with business to engage in this practice. Competition is the overriding principle behind what we call the free enterprise system.)

- What is the fate of unions and employers who fail to recognize their mutual self-interest?

Evaluation

- Were students able to assume the roles they were assigned?
- Did discussion indicate that the objectives of the session had been met?

BUSINESS ENTERPRISE ROLE PLAYING SITUATION

Your company manufactures government red tape. The only customer is the government. There are only 5 companies in the country which have the knowledge to produce this special type of red tape.

Government efficiency experts have succeeded in launching a program to cut red tape. While previously all 5 companies had been receiving yearly contracts to produce the tape, the government announces that due to the cut-back it will only need one-fifth the red tape it needed in the past and will award a 5-year contract to produce the tape to the lowest bidder. If 2 firms submit equally low bids, each will receive 2-year-6-month contracts. If 3 firms are equally low, each will receive 1-year-8-month contracts and so on with the government storing the excess supply of tape until it is needed. The program to cut red tape may not be successful and there are strong indications that the government will increase its purchases to the previous level next year.

Each of the 5 firms produces the same amount of tape (100,000 tons) each year and sells it at the same price ($9.10 per ton). Costs of production are currently the same for all 5 firms. It costs $200,000 for materials (paper and ink) needed to manufacture the tape. Overhead expenses (taxes on the plant, water, and electricity) amount to $100,000. Each firm emplcys 100 workers. They work an average of 50 weeks per year at $110 per week. The total cost of labor is $550,000 per year. Total sales revenues are $910,000. Total cost of production is $850,000. Profits (sales revenues minus costs of production) are $60,000.

Each company owns buildings and machinery worth $1,000,000 on the used machinery and real estate markets. The current yearly profits of

$60,000 result in a return of 6% on the resale value of the machinery and buildings. Banks are currently paying 5% interest on money deposited with them. If profits for the company go below 5% the owners would be better off selling the machinery and buildings and depositing the money in a bank. At a 5% return the company would stay in business because of the uncertainty as to how long it would take to sell the machinery and buildings and the possibility that commissions might have to be paid to real estate agents.

Workers generally find their jobs to be interesting and conditions in the plant to be pleasant. They may be willing to negotiate through their union representatives to take a cut in wages in order to save their jobs. They are in agreement, however, that if wages go below $100 per week from the present $110 that they would rather quit and work elsewhere. Management realizes that it would probably be unable to hire workers to replace their current labor force at wages below $100 per week.

Four cost and profit information sheets are included with this description of the exercise. They contain various combinations of wage and profit rates and prices per ton of red tape. The figures used cover rather broad ranges. There are virtually an infinite number of possibilities within each range. For example, the price per ton is computed for a wage of $105 and 6% rate of profit. The price could be computed for $104.99 and 5.99%. But to minimize problems, stick with the figures on the sheets.

At the conclusion of the exercise, each company must decide upon a price per ton and submit it in writing to the instructor who will then award the contract to the lowest bidder who is capable of fulfilling the contract. Some low prices per ton may be impractical from the standpoint of profit and wage levels which are necessary in order to allow the company to produce. Remember, you are in competition with other companies and unions. Try to keep negotiations within your group as secret as possible.

If there are no questions at this point, study the problem individually for the next 5 minutes. Then for the following 5 minutes, discuss the problem with your fellow manager or union representative. The ensuing 15 minutes will consist of negotiations between the union and management representatives. Remember, neither the union nor management is required to reduce wages or profits, but the penalty of losing the contract may be the result.

Revenue				
Price per ton	$ 8.95	$ 8.70	$ 8.45	$ 8.20
Number of tons produced	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Total Sales Revenue	$895,000	$870,000	$845,000	$820,000
Cost				
Material Costs	$200,000	$200,000	$200,000	$200,000
Overhead Costs	$100,000	$100,000	$100,000	$100,000
Labor Costs:				
Number of workers	100	100	100	100
Weekly wage	$ 110	$ 105	$ 100	$ 95
Total Labor cost per year	$550,000	$525,000	$500,000	$475,000
Total Costs	$850,000	$825,000	$800,000	$775,000
Profit (TSR minus TC)	$ 45,000	$ 45,000	$ 45,000	$ 45,000
Profits as a percent of resale value of machinery and buildings	4.5%	4.5%	4.5%	4.5%

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Revenue				
Price per ton	$ 9.00	$ 8.75	$ 8.50	$ 8.25
Number of tons produced	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Total Sales Revenue	$900,000	$875,000	$850,000	$825,000
Cost				
Material Costs	$200,000	$200,000	$200,000	$200,000
Overhead Costs	$100,000	$100,000	$100,000	$100,000
Labor Costs:				
Number of workers	100	100	100	100
Weekly Wage	$ 110	$ 105	$ 100	$ 95
Total Labor cost per year	$550,000	$525,000	$500,000	$475,000
Total Costs	$850,000	$825,000	$800,000	$775,000
Profit (TSR minus TC)	$ 50,000	$ 50,000	$ 50,000	$ 50,000
Profits as a percent of resale value of machinery and buildings	5%	5%	5%	5%

Revenue				
Price per ton	$ 9.05	$ 8.80	$ 8.55	$ 8.30
Number of tons produced	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Total Sales Revenue	$905,000	$880,000	$855,000	$830,000
Cost				
Materials Costs	$200,000	$200,000	$200,000	$200,000
Overhead Costs	$100,000	$100,000	$100,000	$100,000
Labor Costs:				
Number of workers	100	100	100	100
Weekly Wage	$ 110	$ 105	$ 100	$ 95
Total Labor cost per year	$550,000	$525,000	$500,000	$475,000
Total Costs	$850,000	$825,000	$800,000	$775,000
Profit (TSR minus TC)	$ 55,000	$ 55,000	$ 55,000	$ 55,000
Profits as a percent of resale value of Machinery and buildings	5.5%	5.5%	5.5%	5.5%

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Revenue				
Price per ton	$ 9.10	$ 8.85	$ 8.60	$ 8.35
Number of tons produced	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000
Total Sales Revenue	$910,000	$885,000	$860,000	$835,000
Cost				
Material Costs	$200,000	$200,000	$200,000	$200,000
Overhead Costs	$100,000	$100,000	$100,000	$100,000
Labor Costs:				
Number of workers	100	100	100	100
Weekly wage	$ 110	$ 105	$ 100	$ 95
Total Labor cost per year	$550,000	$525,000	$500,000	$475,000
Total Cost	$850,000	$825,000	$800,000	$775,000
Profit (TSR minus TC)	$ 60,000	$ 60,000	$ 60,000	$ 60,000
Profit as a percent of resale value of machinery and buildings	6%	6%	6%	6%

CLASSROOM EXERCISE

TWO VIEWS ON THE FUTURE OF ORGANIZED LABOR

Objectives

- The student will examine the views of George Meany and Jerry Wurf and identify the major viewpoint in each reading.
- The student will list (for his/her own use) the data used by each man to support his stand on organizing the unorganized.
- Using information from prior class sessions, the student will critique the views of each man, evaluate the evidence each used to support his stand, and exchange information on this evaluation with class members during a discussion period.

Strategy

Have students read the views of George Meany and Jerry Wurf on the issue of organizing unorganized workers. Allow enough time for students to identify the main points of each reading, locate and weigh the supporting evidence, and evaluate the rationale behind each man's thinking. Conduct a discussion based upon the questions for discussion.

Materials

Student copies of the views of George Meany and Jerry Wurf.

Evaluation

- Were students able to relate the two viewpoints to a difference of opinion which has been present for most of the history of organized labor in the United States?
- Were students able to identify and explain the rationale behind the two viewpoints?

INTERVIEW WITH GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT, AFL-CIO

Removed by ERIC due to copyright law.

(From a copyrighted interview in U.S. News & World Report, of February 21, 1972.)

Removed by ERIC due to copyright law.

Questions for Discussion

- Is the difference of opinion on organizing into unions a recent phenomenon? Relate your answer to the Knights of Labor, American Federation of Labor, Industrial Workers of the World, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.
- What are the reasons for Mr. Meany's opinion and the viewpoint of Mr. Wurf?
- Which viewpoint do you favor? Why?

CLASSROOM EXERCISE

AMERICANS AGAINST UNION CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT

Objectives

- Given the statement of "Americans Against Union Control of Government" the student will identify and assess the positions of that group and relate those positions to the materials examined in the module on PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT.
- The student will contrast the format of the "Energy Crises Poll" to that of the "Public Employment Questionnaire" used in above-mentioned module and write a critique of the format and data gathering methods used in the "Energy Crisis Poll."
- The student will participate with class members in summarizing the positions of the "Americans Against Union Control of Government," contrasting these positions to those of public employees unions, and speculating on the political orientation of "Americans Against Union Control of Government."

Materials

Student copies of materials from "Americans Against Union Control of Government."

Strategy

Have students examine the attached letters and "Energy Crisis Poll" from "Americans Against Union Control of Government." Have students write a critique either supporting or rejecting positions stated by the organization and the manner in which those positions are stated. Conduct a discussion based upon student critiques.

Evaluation

. Were students able to relate the material in the module on public employment to the organization's position in developing their critiques?

ENERGY CRISIS POLL

Please mark the answer that most nearly expresses your position on these issues.

	Yes	No	Undecided
1. Should union officials be allowed to call strikes which disrupt public services or affect our vital energy supplies?	☐	☐	☐
2. Should union officials be allowed to control the flow of public energy supplies by using strike threats to blackmail elected officials?	☐	☐	☐
3. Should union officials who call illegal public strikes be prosecuted and punished?	☐	☐	☐

☐ YES! I do want to help preserve our vital energy supplies from control by union bosses. I've enclosed my contribution to help Americans Againt Union Control of Government work for the taxpayers to prevent this disaster.

I have enclosed my contribution of: *(Please makes checks payable to AAUGG)*

__$1000 __$500 __$100 __$50 __$25 __$15 __$10 __$_____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Americans Against Union Control of Government
Suite 306-8206 Leesburg Pike—McLean, Virginia 22101

UNITED STATES SENATE
Washington, D.C. 20510

November 15, 1974

Mr. Erwin L. Baker
Box 112 Sullivan County 2
Jeffersonville, New York 12746

Dear Mr. Baker:

Unless enough Americans somehow unite, I must candidly say to you that freedom's days are numbered. Allow me to explain.

I have been asked to write to you because, frankly, your name is on a list of citizens who are believed to be gravely concerned about the very real possibility of America's takeover by a relative handful of union bosses.

Their thirst for power is not representative of either the American people or the hard-working members of labor unions, whose dues are used (often improperly and unlawfully) to finance the activities of these bosses.

Let me say at the outset that this letter should not be construed as an attack on labor unions. What I oppose -- and I understand that you oppose it also -- is the abuse of power by labor union bosses.

I know you are busy. I know also that you are constantly bombarded with solicitations, polls, and exhortations of every kind. Frankly, I was reluctant to add to your burdens -- realizing that you may very well have the inclination to toss this letter and its enclosures into the trash can.

You may do precisely that anyhow. But before you do, I urge you to read the enclosures.

Carefully consider what is afoot in America. After doing that, I hope you will decide to (1) complete the poll and return it in the enclosed envelope, and (2) send a contribution to Americans Against Union Control of Government to assist them in preventing a takeover of America by labor union bosses.

Needless to say, I do hope I'll hear from you shortly.

Sincerely,

Jesse Helms
United States Senator

Not Prepared or Mailed at Government Expense

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AMERICANS AGAINST
UNION CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT

Monday morning...

Dear Friend:

I've enclosed an ENERGY CRISIS POLL and I need to have you fill it out and send it back to me right away.

I'll be testifying before a number of state legislatures soon, and I need to know how you feel about this crisis, and issues related to it. I want to tell your state representative when I go to see him.

You and I both know there is a real energy crunch right now. And more Arab oil isn't going to solve the problem. Let me tell you why.

Recently thousands of Americans were left stranded as transportation broke down in San Francisco, Washington, D.C., Cincinnati, and many other cities.

They weren't out of gas. They were the victims of strikes by public transportation employees. Strikes without warning. Strikes in direct defiance of court orders.

But that's not the half of it.

Do you remember reading about the firemen's strike in New York City a few months ago? For five hours the whole city sat like a powder keg with hardly one fireman in a hundred on hand to answer alarms.

The city officials finally caved in. What else could they do, endanger the lives of eight million people? People who had paid hard-earned tax dollars to get fire protection. It was simply blackmail.

But here's the worst of it.

Did you know that Richard Vizzini, the union president who called the strike, lied? He said the firemen voted "overwhelmingly" to strike, and then he destroyed the ballots. It turned out they voted <u>not</u> to strike.

First Vizzini lied. Then he doublecrossed the firemen he was supposed to represent (and put millions of lives in jeopardy). And then be blackmailed the city into binding arbitration on his demands. One irresponsible union official had New York City on its knees...all for his own personal selfish interests.

If this were an isolated case, if this were the exception, it would be one thing. But illegal strikes against the public are becoming a way of life in America.

(over)

a division of Public Service Research Council
Suite 306 * 8206 Leesburg Pike * McLean, Virginia 22101 * (703) 790-0700

Just consider San Francisco. Only a few months ago strikes hit the hospitals, the sewage plants, the bus and trolley lines, the schools...just about every public service in the city was shut down. And every day more than 100 million gallons of raw sewage were poured into the Bay because of the strike.

What did union leaders think of all this? Jack Crowley, Executive Secretary of San Francisco's Central Labor Council told the strikers:

> "I would like to compliment you on the way you mounted your picket lines -- the way you kept this city in turmoil until your demands were met."

It's simply a matter of union bosses taking over our cities and towns, nothing less.

Ask yourself this question. If union officials call a strike that seriously threatens the lives and property of you and your family -- like the New York firemen's strike or the San Francisco strike -- and they hold out until elected officials give in to their demands on how your city will operate...who really runs your city?

I think you see the point. And then remember that these strikes are all against public facilities and services you can't get anywhere else.

If the police strike, who's going to protect members of your family from being raped or mugged? You have nowhere else to turn. Same with the fire department and the sanitation workers.

But it will really hit home when the public power companies strike. When the dwindling energy supplies we still have are choked off by radical union bosses.

These men know how critical our energy supplies are right now. And they know they can use that to blackmail every American taxpayer into handing over the reins of his free government to a few radicals. Radicals like Jack Crowley who praise public servants for keeping our cities in turmoil.

I ask you, where do we draw the line?

Well, as I was saying earlier, the battle is on right now in the state legislatures and in Congress. Americans Against Union Control of Government was formed last year to help you and other taxpayers have a say in that battle. That's why I need to have you send in your ENERGY CRISIS POLL so I'll know how you feel about these issues.

There are many bills right now that, if passed, would hand over to men like Richard Vizzini total control over the public employee jobs provided and paid for by you...the taxpayer.

Believe me, these union bosses have no regard for the personal safety of you or your family. They see the 14 million government employees as nothing more than tools to grab more power with...and the public be damned.

That's why it's so important that you join with Americans Against Union Control of Government in opposing this power grab. That's why I need you to return your POLL right away.

And there's one more thing I'd like you to do. I'd like you to send a donation to Americans Against Union Control of Government.

Right now AAUCG is desperately short of cash. We're strictly non-profit, and we don't get any foundation grants. We can do only so much as we receive support from individual tax-paying citizens like yourself.

Already many prominent Americans have joined with us, maybe you know some of them. People like Senator Jesse Helms, author Taylor Caldwell, Father Daniel Lyons, Congressman David Treen, Rudy Vallee, Congressman Steve Symms, and a lot more.

They've all helped. If you can help with $10, $25, $50, or maybe even $100, it will mean so much to all of us here.

It's a hectic pace, trying to get our people from one state capital to another, from Austin to Sacramento to Albany, to testify before state legislative committees and to talk with representatives in private.

Then to rush back to Washington to see Congressmen about new developments here. It really gets tight when we're not even sure we'll have the cash to pay a plane fare, and we've already promised the people on the committee we'll be there.

And there are so many other bills. Telephones, research, postage, just normal office supplies and rent.

We have already done a lot. Our TAXPAYER MONITOR system puts us in immediate touch with concerned citizens in every state.

And our CITIZEN ALERT program has generated thousands of letters in Florida and New Jersey in opposition to bad public employee bills there. We're ready to go into any state where such bills come up. But we need the cash to do it. Just the postage, at 10¢ a letter, runs into thousands of dollars.

Frankly, we are desperately short of operating funds. And unless we can raise $135,000 in the next three weeks we're going to have to drastically cut back our operations.

That might sound like a lot of money to you -- $135,000. But compared to the literally millions of dollars the union barons are pouring into the fight it's almost nothing. Still, it will be enough for awhile. For one thing, we don't have to pay out the exorbitant salaries the union bosses demand for themselves.

Senator Helms has told me that he is very concerned about this issue, and that he is highly interested in the results of the Poll. He wants me to call him as soon as I hear from you.

Besides, I need to have the results quickly so I can effectively stand up to the union bosses' power grab of our free government and our critically short energy supplies.

And if you can send $10 or $25 along with your POLL to help us with our efforts on behalf of you as a taxpayer, or maybe $50 or $100, -- or as much as you can possibly afford -- everyone here will thank you from the bottom of his heart. And we'll all work harder yet, knowing what good friends we have supporting our efforts.

In fact, without your personal support we'd simply have to fold up shop. That's why we are counting so much on hearing from you.

You'll find that I've enclosed a self-addressed return envelope to save you some time. I do hope you'll send me your Poll and a contribution today, so you don't forget. It just might keep your lights lit at home.

With grateful thanks,

James L. Martin
Executive Vice President

JLM/pm

P.S. I'll need to receive your ENERGY CRISIS POLL, along with your contribution, within ten days to have the results on hand in time to testify.